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SYNTACTIC FRAMES FOR THE RVWÀNG (RAWANG) VERB

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Introduction

The Rvwàng language of North Burma¹ exhibits a well-defined system clearly marking the hierarchical and tagmemic structure of morpho-syntactic units. Various affixes exhibit optional/obligatory co-occurrence relationships with verb forms on the various levels of word, phrase, clause and sentence structure, making necessary the consideration of the verb in the context of various syntactic matrices. The brief survey of clauses and sentences given in this paper is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to provide the syntactic matrices within which the verb occurs, and to delineate the levels on which the various co-occurring affixes have significance.

The Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by tribal groups in surrounding areas, -- Jinghpaw, Lisu, Maru, Lashi, Tangsa, -- are more of an isolative, [p.339] monosyllabic type. Rvwàng is especially interesting in that it is agglutinative, and the verb especially exhibits a remarkable complex of affixes and inflections. However, the formational criteria for the verbal phrase must be considered in terms of the distribution. Distributional criteria for sentence types may not seem important in themselves when exhibiting only a dichotomy of independent versus

¹ The Rvwàng language is an abstraction referring to the speech of a group of tribes in upper Kachin State, Burma, and adjoining areas in the Salween valley, Yunnan, China. There are at least five recognizable branches, some of the dialects of which are mutually unintelligible; the *Gvnòng* (usually referred to in the literature as Khunong, Khenung, Hkanung or Nung); the *Tàngsàrr*; the Nung, or *Kwinsvng* or *Kupang*; the *Lùngmī*, and the Rvwàng, who together speak over 70 distinct dialects. This study is based on text materials collected in the Mvtwàng dialect of the Rvwàng branch, spoken chiefly in the N'mai Hka valley south of the Ahkyang confluence. This dialect is considered 'central' enough to be understood by all the other dialects, and underlies the present unified literacy and educational program. The only known extant literature on Rvwàng linguistics is J. T. O. Barnard, *A Handbook of the Răwàng Dialect of the Nung Language*, Rangoon, 1934, and R. H. Morse, 'The Phonology of Răwàng', *AL*, 5.5.1963. Rvwàng will be of interest to comparative Tibeto-Burman linguistics in that, although surrounded by isolative monosyllabic-type languages, and with no history of contact with languages which might have pronominalization within the verb phrase, it exhibits a very well developed pronominal system, which with the other inflective categories co-occurring in the verb phrase results in complexity unequalled in any other surrounding Tibeto-Burman language.

dependent sentences². But failure to consider this distinction leads to confusion in description of internal criteria which define the optional/obligatory occurrence of various syntactic units, as well as in judgment as to the grammaticalness of many common, seemingly incomplete syntactic structures.

Ordinarily the complete, independent sentence is a rare and unusual thing in Rvwàng, found only utterance initially. One of the first impressions one gets when considering the syntax of Tibeto-Burman languages is their seemingly endless rambling. The predilection of all native speakers is to make sentences paragraph-size, stringing along clause after clause with no intention of full stop in grammar or intonation, until the complete thought has been expressed. A dialogue is usually continued with only partial, incomplete and seemingly ambiguous sentences, which however are replete with referents. Nevertheless, the study of the Rvwàng verb in this paper assumes the simple, independent sentence as the contextual model.

The differentiation between optional and obligatory components, and the hierarchical layering of syntactic structure are crucial to an analysis revealing the salient features of Tibeto-Burman morphosyntax. The usual analysis of parts of speech into nouns, verbs and particles overlooks the importance of these last named minor morpheme classes (whether called clitics, affixes, or particles) which occur in Tibeto-Burman languages, in signalling the significant structural components of the grammar on the various levels. Rvwàng has a rich variety of syntactic referents which co-occur with the obligatory predicate nucleus, and a study of the verb involves us to a large extent with these. The tagmemic slot:filler model has been chosen for this study. Morpho-syntactic [p.340] structure is described as a series of obligatory substitution points or slots together with the morphological classes which occur as slot-fillers, -- forming the

² The occurrence of most sentence structure in a two-dimensional matrix in which independent and dependent sentence types contrast with simple, compound and complex structures, and may be further distinguished as complete or incomplete, seems sufficiently common to most languages not to warrant further discussion here. Independent sentences are those which may occur as complete utterances and initiate discourse without reference to any defining contexts; dependent sentences cannot so occur, and are further internally marked for dependence. See V. Waterhouse, 'Independent and Dependent Sentences', *IJAL*, 29, 1, 1963.

nuclear structure, plus various optional slots and fillers forming a peripheral set of concomitants.

The tagmemic slot:filler component which is constant and obligatory to both dependent and independent syntactic constructs on the clausal level in Rvwàng is the *predicate* tagmeme, manifested by either a process verb and its goal-object, or a verbal phrase.

1. SYNTACTIC MATRICES

1.1. *Sentence structure and types*

Rvwàng sentences may be independent or dependent, and exhibit structures which are simple, compound or complex. They may also be complete or incomplete. Dependent sentences are marked for dependency by one or more of these divisive criteria: (1) occurrence of subordinative conjunctives or other sequence markers; (2) occurrence of referential substitutes such as pronouns, classifier nouns or auxiliary pro-verbs; and (3) the omission of certain tagmemic units normally obligatory to the complete independent sentence, such as subject or object.

Final order suffixes of the predicate tagmeme are relevant to the sentence level. These are of two formal types, and function both as constituents of the sentence, to distinguish sentence types and signal sentence completion, and as components of the predicate tagmeme, to signal contrastive modes of expression. The constituent elements of the sentence are seen in the following formula for an independent sentence:

$$\pm \text{ CONC: } \pm (\text{D-CL} + \text{ClConj})^n + \text{NUC: } + (\text{I-CL} + \text{SFM} + \text{INT})$$

which may be read as ‘optional concomitant slot filled by any number of dependent clauses with obligatory clausal conjunctives, followed by an obligatory nucleus slot filled by an independent clause with a sentence-final marker suffix (SFM) and a sentence-final intonation (INT).’ An independent clause coincides with a minimal simple sentence when it is the only clause and exhibits sentence-final marker suffix and intonation. This will be considered the basic type for description in this paper, as other differentia marking complexity and dependency do not affect consideration of the verbal phrase, and may be conveniently described as transforms.

Four major sentence types which occur are AFFIRMATIVE, IMPERATIVE, [p.341] OPTATIVE, and EXCLAMATORY. Many subtypes which occur may be described simply as transforms of these four types. Since we are concerned here only with the predicate tagmeme, we may omit from further discussion the optional concomitants, and features of intonation³, and consider the sentence-final marking suffixes (SFM) which occur as constituents of the sentence contiguous to the predicate tagmeme of the clause. These are discussed below, and summarized and illustrated in the accompanying Appendix I.

The obligatory final or fifth order suffixes of affirmative sentences may be primary or secondary. Secondary suffixes mark transform subtypes of the primary sentence types, and exhibit an additional particle in open juncture following the primary sentence marking suffix. Contrastive temporal distinctions are exhibited on this level in the affirmative sentence by the occurrence of fifth order affirmative suffix *-ē*, ‘non-past time’ with the non-occurrence of a fifth order suffix following fourth order verbal suffixes marking past time. These are mutually exclusive with *-ē*, and also function within the clause to distinguish clause types: *-à*, ‘past time, transitive process clause,’ and *-ì*, ‘past time, intransitive clause.’ E.g.

àŋ diē
àŋ dī-ē
 3SG go-NPST
 ‘He goes, will go.’⁴

àŋ dīá:mì
àŋ dī-ám-ì
 3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP

³ Rvwàng intonation is described in part as a feature of the phonological system in Morse, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

⁴ The phonemic inventory of the Mvtwang dialect of Rvwàng is: voiceless aspirate stops *p*, *ɕ* (= [tsh]) *t*, *č* (= [tʃh]), *k*; voiced stops *b*, *z* (= [z or dz]), *d*, *ʃ*, *g*; glottal stop *ʔ*; spirants *s*, *š* (= [ʃ]), *h*; liquid *l*; fricative *r*; nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*; semivowels *w*, *j*; high vowels *i*, *ɨ*, *u*; mid vowels *e*, *ə*, *o*; and low vowel *a*; length (*ɑː*); Tonemes are: high level (*á*), mid level (*ə̄*), low level (*à*), and a neutral, non-contrastive tone (unmarked). For a full treatment see Morse, op. cit. Note that the high central vowel and the mid central vowel are for typographical reasons here written *y* [changed to *u* -NS] and *ə* respectively. In Rvwàng literature they are written *ø* and *v*.

'He went.'

à:ŋí ríá:tnà

àŋ-í rí-at-à

3SG-AGT carry-DIR.cis-TP

'He brought (it).'

àŋ ríá:tnòē

àŋ rí-at-ò-ē

3SG carry-DIR.cis-TNP-NPST

'He brings, will bring (it).'

-ē does not occur within the clause, as in dependent clauses:

àŋ dī nì gū...

àŋ dī nì gū

3SG walk though also

'Though he goes...'

àŋ dīá:mì nì gū...

àŋ dī-ám-ì nì gū

3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP though also

'Though he went...'

The subtypes NARRATIVE, EMPHATIC ASSERTION, INCREDULOUS ASSERTION, INFORMATIONAL INTERROGATIVE, CONFIRMATORY INTERROGATIVE, INCREDULOUS INTERROGATIVE do not exhaust the list but are representative for this study. Contrast is exhibited in the occurrence of the secondary suffixes mentioned above, as:

àŋ dīá:mì wā

àŋ dī-ám-ì wā

3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP HS

'He went (narrative-affirmative).'

àŋ dīá:mì lé!

àŋ dī-ám-ì lé

3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP EXCL

'He *did* go!'

àŋ dīē màwá!
àŋ dī-e mà-wá
3SG walk-NPST NEG-say

'Don't say he's going!'

àŋ dīá:mì má?
àŋ dī-ám-ì má
3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP Q

'Did he go?'

àŋ dīá:mì wónā?
àŋ dī-ám-ì wá-nā
3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP say-NCERT

'He went, you say?'

àŋ dīá:mì lá?
àŋ dī-ám-ì lá
3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP EXCL:Q

'What! He went?'

The various interrogative secondary [p.342] nouns and adverbs which occur in interrogative sentences do not affect the structure of the sentence or clause.

kāgú dīá:mì má?
kā = gú dī-ám-ì má
WH = CLF.human walk-DIR.dis-IP Q

'Who went?'

àŋ kādægəp dīá:mì má?
àŋ kā = dægəp dī-ám-ì má
3SG WH = time walk-DIR.dis-IP Q

'When did he go?'

àŋ dīē lé
àŋ dī-ē lé
3SG walk-NPST EXCL

'He is going'

àŋ dīē má?

àŋ dī-ē má

3SG walk-NPST Q

'Is he going?'

Imperative sentences contrast with affirmative sentences in the significant non-occurrence of sentence-final marker suffix. The final particles distinguishing subtypes therefore occur contiguous to the clause-final predicate tagmeme. Imperative sentences are restricted by obligatory co-occurrence of 2nd person pronominal affixes with the predicate tagmeme. The subject tagmeme of the obligatory nucleus is optional, and usually does not occur.

nàí èríò

nà-í è-rí-ò

2SG-AGT NF-carry-TNP

'You carry (it).'

edī

e-dī

NF-walk

'Go!'

edirā

e-dī-rā

NF-walk-DIR.cis

'Come!'

REQUESTIVE and HORTATORY subtypes, with secondary particle affixes *nà* and *lè*, may also occur with 1st person pronominal affixes.

nàí èríò ná

nà-í è-rí-ò ná

2SG-AGT NF-carry-TNP REQ

'You please carry (it).'

edìránùŋ *lè*
 e-dì-rá-nùŋ *lè*
 NF-walk-DIR.cis-2PL HORT
 '(You pl.) should come here!'

edī *lè*
 e-dī *lè*
 NF-walk HORT
 '(You) should go.'

rî *nâ*
 rî-ì *nâ*
 carry-1PL REQ
 'Let's carry (it) (please).'

dîi *lè*
 dî-ì *lè*
 walk-1PL HORT
 'Let's go (hortative).'

Optative type sentences exhibit the suffix *-ni*, 'wish, intent' in the sentence-final marker slot, co-occurring with an obligatory prefix in the third order verbal prefix slot within the predicate tagmeme. ASSUMPTIVE sentences exhibit the affixes *dv-...-nî*.

àŋ *dədîni*
 àŋ də-dî-nî
 3SG EMPH-walk-INTENT
 'He (will surely) go.'

à:ŋí *dəríòni*
 àŋ-í də-rí-ò-nî
 3SG-AGT EMPH-carry-TNP-INTENT
 '(I assume) he'll carry (it).'

CONCESSIVE sentences exhibit the affixes *lə-...-nî*, or *lv-...nî nû*, the former implying slight uncertainty, the latter certainty.

àŋ lədīnī; muí má?
àŋ lə-dī-nī mə-í má
3SG NCERT-walk-though NEG-be Q

'But he goes; isn't it?'

àŋ lədīnì nū!
àŋ lə-dī-nì nū
3SG NCERT-walk-though TOP

'But he *does* go.'

PROHIBITIVE sentences exhibit the affixes *mə-...-nī*, the prefix *mə-* of which is the adverbial negative of Rvwàng. Limitation of distribution to co-occurrence with 2nd person pronominal affixes results in this being manifested as *mè-...nī*.

mèdìnùŋnī
mə-è-dì-nùŋ-nī
NEG-NF-walk-2PL-INTENT

'Don't (you pl.) go!'

mèdīnī
mə-è-dī-nī
NEG-NF-walk-INTENT

'Don't go.'

nama? mèrínùŋnī
nà-ma? mə-è-rí-nùŋ-nī
2-PL NEG-NF-carry-2PL-INTENT

'Don't (you pl.) carry (it).'

A PRECATIVE subtype occurs, which exhibits the prefix *la?-...* and the significant non-occurrence of a sentence-final marker suffix, as in imperative sentence types.

àŋ la?dī
àŋ la?-dī
3SG INDTV-walk

'Let him go.'

àŋ laʔmədi

àŋ laʔ-mə-di

3SG INDTV-NEG-walk

'May he not go.'

à:ŋí laʔríò nà

àŋ-í laʔ-rí-ò nà

3SG-AGT INDTV-carry-TNP REQ

'(Please) let him carry (it).'

INTENTIVE and OPTATIVE INTERROGATIVE sentences do not exhibit any third order verbal prefix, but only the final suffixes *-nī* and *-nī má*. Distribution is limited to occurrence with 1st and 2nd person pronominal affixes with the predicate tagmeme.

dì:atnì

dì-at-ì-nī

walk-DIR.cis-1PL-INTENT

'We will come/ Let us come.'

rîñ

rí-ì-nī

carry-1PL-INTENT

'We will carry (it).'

edīnī má?

e-dī-nī má

NF-walk-INTENT Q

'Would you go?'

eríòñí má?

e-rí-ò-nī má

NF-carry-TNP-INTENT Q

'Would you carry (it)?'

Exclamatory sentences exhibit a structure in which the principal clause [p.343] is nominalized by the nominalizing postposition *wē* filling the sentence-final marker slot. A DECLAMATORY

subtype is exhibited by the addition of the secondary suffix *lè*. The sense of these sentence types is mostly adversative.

àŋ dīá:mì wē
àŋ dī-ám-ì wē
3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP NMLZ
'He went but...'

àŋ dī wē lè
3SG walk NMLZ DECL
'But of course he goes.'

à:ŋí ríò wē
àŋ-í rí-ò wē
3SG-AGT carry-TNP NMLZ
'But he carries (it).'

à:ŋí ríò wē lè
àŋ-í rí-ò wē lè
3SG-AGT carry-TNP NMLZ DECL
'But certainly he carries (it).'

1.2. *Clause structure and types*

The clause in Rvwàng forms a constituent unit of sentence structure. Like the sentence, it also exhibits distributional types of dependent and independent clauses, which are simple or complex, complete or incomplete in structure. An INDEPENDENT CLAUSE may constitute a complete simple sentence (dependent or independent), or occur as the principal and final clause of a complex sentence, or as the first clause in a compound sentence. It differs from a DEPENDENT CLAUSE by the potential co-occurrence of the sentence-level, type-signalling final order suffixes with its obligatory predicate tagmeme. Independent clauses which constitute dependent sentences are of course limited according to the type of dependency of the sentence, and differ in form from those which constitute independent sentences.

Dependent clauses occur as peripheral components of complex sentences, and they may also occur as nominal, verbal, or adverbial expanded slot-fillers on the morphological level, -- as clauses within clauses that theoretically allow for unlimited, open-ended expansion.

Dependency on the clausal level is manifested in omission of components of the obligatory nucleus such as the subject or object, or of components of the predicate tagmeme, as well as in occurrence of a subordinate or sequential clause-final conjunctive.

The INDEPENDENT CLAUSE, as the grammatical unit of predication, consists of an obligatory nucleus (symbolized as NUC:), composed of subject and predicate tagmemes, together with an optional periphery (symbolized as PERI:) of up to five tagmemic types, some of which can occur more than once in the clause. An overall composite formula for the general structure of an expanded clause which may constitute a simple independent affirmative sentence is (minus the sentence-final marker):

$$\pm \text{PERI: } \pm (\text{T}^2, \text{L}^2, \text{BP}^2, \text{IA}, \text{Av}^n) + \text{NUC: } + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{aS} \end{array} \right\} + \text{P} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \right\} + \text{V}$$

[p.344] which may be read: 'An optional periphery filled by one or more than one of each of the optional Time, Location, Benefactive-Purpose, Instrument-Association, and Adverbial tagmemes, plus an obligatory nucleus filled by either subject and predicate verb, or by actor subject and object plus predicate verb tagmemes.' The obligatory predicate always occurs sentence finally, and is normally preceded by the object or goal of action of the verb when there is one, and this in turn is preceded by the subject.⁵⁾

The order of the optional tagmemes of the periphery is not fixed as in the formula above however, but is free within certain limits, -- depending upon the expansion of the clause and other factors. One factor operating to determine order is *focus*, in which increased emphasis is manifested by the occurrence of emphasized tagmemes closest to the obligatory predicate at the end. This means that an optionally occurring tagmeme such as IA: or B: or L:, plus the

⁵ A variant structure of the predicate verb tagmeme occurs only when a dependent incomplete clause, coincident with a dependent incomplete sentence, of completive response type, exhibits a first order auxiliary verb or aspect suffix as a pro-verb substitute for the main verb of the predicate tagmeme, as: *məjúŋē*, '(I) want to'. *dəzár búà* '(He) let (him)'. *mənšīē*, '(He's) continuing (to work or eat or act)'.

process or 'proceme'⁶ of focus, may be manifested between an obligatory subject, or an object, and the predicate verb.

In this we see a characteristic tendency of Tibeto-Burman languages and cultures, -- to consider optional features as preliminaries to be disposed of first, and following a progressive scale of importance or focus leading up to the important and obligatory features which are expressed finally. This has been described by Wolfenden as follows:

'There is evidence from many sources that the end of the sentence (referred to as the front by native T-B speakers) is the logical position for a verb ... The genius of the (Tibeto-Burman) family calls for the generalized term to appear first. This is then modified by the following additions: the adjective, or so-called "case" suffix after the substantive, the temporal element ... after the verb, the particular object possessed after the possessor ... With this the placing of the verb at the end of the sentence is evidently in accord. It may [p.345] perhaps be regarded as a species of limiting thought, singling out the particular act or movement performed, from among a number of possible acts or movements, any one of which the previously named actors could have accomplished.'⁷

This does indeed seem a valid observation, and is basic to syntactic structure in Rvwàng. Allowing for these various 'procemes' which might operate to manifest differing orders, in this paper we shall assume a characteristic or typical order, as given in the formula above, and illustrated below. The 'proceme' of focus is illustrated by the set of sentences given in Appendix 2, in which the emphasized item in focus is enclosed in square brackets. Further consideration of syntactic structure of the peripheral tagmemes is considered outside the scope of this present paper. Below we give first the Rvwàng, under the literal translation and the tagmemic slot, followed by the sentence in English.

⁶ The term 'proceme' is the author's innovation for non-mechanical morpho-syntactic operations or processes which are found to occur within the grammatical systems of a language, differing from functional taxemes in not being signalled by any explicit morpheme. This term would thus parallel the system unit terms phoneme, morpheme, tagmeme, etc.

⁷ Stuart N. Wolfenden, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929, 8.

<i>ɛ́áńĩ</i>	<i>dū̀rù:mí</i>	<i>putao</i>	<i>rəwá</i>	<i>kèní</i>	<i>dú̀rā:mí</i>
<i>ɛ́áńĩ</i>	<i>dū̀rù:m-í</i>	<i>putao</i>	<i>rəwá</i>	<i>kèní</i>	<i>dú̀rām-í</i>
Yesterday	evening-ADV	Putao	town	from	Duram-AGT
T		L			aS

<i>ɲà</i>	<i>gəjārai</i>	<i>məmē</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>rəwári</i>	<i>dəpət</i>
my	goods	many	TOP	this	villagers	for
O + Aj			BP			

<i>lèŋ</i>	<i>taʔtaʔ</i>	<i>dəbù</i>	<i>nu:ntní</i>	<i>šòšòwā</i>	<i>tóāapmà.</i>
<i>lèŋ</i>	<i>taʔ-taʔ</i>	<i>dəbù</i>	<i>nuunt-í</i>	<i>šòšòwā</i>	<i>tó-ā-ap-à</i>
cart	on-REDUP	glad	heart-with	willingly	haul-BEN-TM dys-TP
L		IA		Av	V

'Yesterday evening Dūrām willingly carried a lot of my things with a glad heart for the villagers by oxcart from Putao town.'

<i>wēdū</i>	<i>tiʔ</i>	<i>dəčá,</i>	<i>dəgá</i>	<i>jaʔ</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>món</i>	<i>kèní</i>	<i>nìnzì</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>ɲái</i>
<i>wē-dū</i>	<i>tiʔ</i>	<i>dəčá</i>	<i>dəgá</i>	<i>jaʔ</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>món</i>	<i>kèní</i>	<i>nìnzì</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>ɲà-í</i>
That-ADV	one	same	other	night	that	land	from	Ninzi	for	1SG-AGT
Av		T			L		BP		aS	
<i>nəmbùŋlĩ</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>món</i>	<i>səŋ</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>əjú</i>	<i>əl</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>dərə</i>	<i>tiʔ</i>	<i>pən-pən</i>
<i>nəmbùŋlĩ-í</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>món</i>	<i>səŋ</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>əjú</i>	<i>əl</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>dərə</i>	<i>tiʔ</i>	<i>pən-pən</i>
airboat-INST	this	land	to	TOP	benefit	have	NMLZ	things	one	kind-kind
IA	L			Aj +				O +	n. class.	
<i>ǰùŋǰúŋ</i>	<i>šəlá</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>rúŋāŋətnòmnū.</i>							
<i>ǰùŋǰúŋ</i>	<i>šəlá</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>rí-ŋ-ā-ŋ-ət-ò-nĩ-ŋ.</i>							
really	good	manneredly	carry-1SG-BEN-1SG-DIR.cis-TNP-INTENT-1SG							
Av	Av		V							

[p.346] 'Likewise, later on I shall really bring back carefully for Ninzi some useful things by plane from that land to this land.'

DEPENDENT CLAUSES may be complete or incomplete, but occur as immediate constituents within the sentence, preceding an obligatory clause-final conjunctive. These are distinguished from clauses filling sub-clausal tagmemic slots by the co-occurring tagmemic postpositions (hereinafter *tpp*). The *tpp* not only signal completion of the clause-component structural units, - the tagmemic slots which may be expanded to contain clauses and even sentences, -- and their syntactic relationships. They also function to differentiate numerous variations of temporal (T),

locative (L), instrumental (I), associative (A), benefactive (B), purposive (P), actor-subject (aS), object (O) as well as various types of adverbial (Av) tagmemes. They are syntactomorphs, relational units of the grammatical structure on a clausal level, and as such exhibit obligatory co-occurrence not with the noun, verb or other word-classes as such, but with the tagmemic unit as a whole. A full description of the tpp is beyond the scope of this paper, but material differentiating dependent clauses and tagmemic classes is given in Appendix 3.

Divisive formal and distributional criteria differentiate two main structural clause types, which may be termed TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE. Here again is seen the pattern whereby an obligatory minor morpheme class functions on two levels: as a unit-final syntactomorph signalling syntactic relationships, and as a suffix modifying the preceding major morpheme or tagmeme-nucleus. On the clausal level, obligatory fourth order suffixes of the predicate verb, occurring clause finally (CFM) function not only to differentiate clause type, but also to distinguish temporal contrasts, as seen in the following chart, which includes the fifth order affirmative SFM suffix.

	<i>Clause-marking suffixes</i>		<i>Sentence-marking suffixes</i>
	Transitive	Intransitive	Affirmative
<i>Past</i>	-à	-ì	-X
<i>Non-past</i>	-ò	-X	-ē
	4 th order suffixes		5 th order

Contrasts with significant non-occurrence, or *zero* (-X), are shown in both the fourth and fifth order suffixes, and illustrate the occurrence of marked versus unmarked contrastive categories in the language. Such significant non-occurrences are to be distinguished from non-occurrence of optional categories, and point up the necessity of differentiating between [p.347] optional and obligatory categories in the structure. Transitive and intransitive clauses exhibit further contrasts in the co-occurring tagmemic types which constitute the obligatory nuclei, i.e. the subject and object, and there are many subordinate types which are here considered transforms derivable from these two main types.

The fifth order SFM suffixes may occur contiguous to a predicate verb without intervening suffixes, as can also the unambiguous fourth order suffix -ò 'non-past transitive'.

àŋ dīē
 àŋ dī-ē
 3SG walk-NPST

'He goes'.

àŋí rìòē
 àŋ-í rí-ò-ē
 3SG carry-TNP-NPST

'He carries (it)'.

-à 'past transitive' and -ì 'past intransitive', however, occur only following third order suffixes. -
 à thus contrasts with -ā 'benefactive' which is a second order voice suffix.

àŋí rí búà
 àŋ-í rí bú-à
 3SG-AGT carry PFV-TP

'He carried (it)'.

àŋí rīā búà
 àŋ-í rí-ā bú-à
 3SG-AGT carry-BEN PFV-TP

'He carried (it) for ...'

àŋí rí dǎŋ búà
 àŋ-í rí dǎŋ bú-à
 3SG-AGT carry finish PFV-TP

'He finished carrying (it)'.

àŋí rí dǎŋā búà
 àŋ-í rí dǎŋ-ā bú-à
 3SG-AGT carry finish-BEN PFV-TP

'He finished carrying (it) for ...'

-ì 'past intransitive' contrasts for the most part with homophonous suffix -ì '1st person plural
 subject', an optional fourth order suffix, which is not so restricted.

nūŋma? dīē
nūŋma? dī-ì-ē
 1PL walk-1PL-NPST

'We're going'.

àŋ dí mənšīa:tnì
àŋ dí mən-šī-at-ì
 3SG walk continue-R/M-DIR.cis-IP

'He himself continued to come toward ...'

nūŋma? dí mənšīa:tnīē
nūŋma? dí mən-šī-at-ì-ē
 1PL walk continue-R/M-DIR.cis-1PL-NPST

'We continue to come ourselves toward (you)'.

However, there is ambiguity between 3rd person affirmative past and 1st plural hortatory present sentences:

dìá:mì
dì-ám-ì
 walk-DIR.dis-IP

'(He) went'.

dìá:mì
dì-ám-ì
 walk-DIR.dis-1PL

'Let's go on'. (cp. *dī* (dì-ì walk-1PL) 'Let's go'.)

Occurrence of optional person and number suffixes showing agreement with co-occurring subject and object -- also as fourth order verb suffixes, -- can considerably complicate the picture. The two fourth order suffix classes are not mutually exclusive either. The resultant portmanteau forms help give the Rvwàng verb its complex inflection, and necessitate the conjugation of verbs according to various types and classes. Occurrence of third person unmarked categories allows us to use simple, uninflected examples that are idiomatic.

TRANSITIVE CLAUSES include TRANSITIVE ACTIVE as the main type, and subtypes involving transformations on the syntactic level which may be labelled CAUSATIVE, REFLEXIVE, and

GENERAL. Other variants and compounds of these clause types, involving contrasts only within the predicate verb tagmeme, are described on the morphological level. It might be noted here that the syntactical or distributionally oriented description given in this paper possibly runs athwart a functionally oriented description of nuclear and peripheral verb formations such as might be preferable on the morphological level. But in so doing an attempt has been made to bring into focus what are seen to be some salient characteristics [p.348] of the grammatical structure of Rvwàng, and of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general.

A transitive-active clause nucleus consists of an actor-subject marked for transitive action by the tpp -í 'actor, instrument', (aS + í); an object tagmeme (O) representing the object to which the action is transferred, or which is acted upon; and the predicate verb tagmeme containing a transitive verb with the fourth order active CFM suffix -ò (Vt + ò), aS + í -- O -- Vt + ò. The past-tense -à preceded by the third order completive aspect suffix *bú* is given in parentheses for comparison.

àŋí	šé	ríòē.	(rí	búà).
àŋ-í	šé	rí-ò-ē	(rí	bú-à)
3SG-AGT	gold	carry-TNP-NPST	(carry	PFV-TP)

'He is carrying (carried) gold.'

àŋí	ám̐à	lòŋ	ám̐òē.	(ám̐	búà).
àŋ-í	ám̐à	lòŋ	ám̐-ò-ē	(ám̐	bú-à)
3SG-AGT	food	CLF	eat-TNP-NPST	(eat	PFV-TP)

'He is eating (ate) the food.'

àŋí	ədú	čùm	wāòē.	(wà	búà).
àŋ-í	ədú	čùm	wā-ò-ē	(wà	bú-à)
3SG-AGT	Vdø	house	make-TNP-NPST	(make	PFV-TP)

'He is making (made) Vdø's (Second Son's) house.'

àŋí	dərè	šà:lòē.	(šəl	búà).
àŋ-í	dərè	šàl-ò-ē	(šəl	bú-à)
3SG-AGT	things	drag-TNP-NPST	(drag	PFV-TP)

'He is dragging (dragged) things.'

Action which is transmitted back onto the subject, or first person, or from first to second person, falls within the inactive or non-transferred category, and affix orders normally expectable do not occur. Only action from first or second to third person, or between two third parties, is expressed as transitive action. This is also redundantly manifested by the morphological use of the phoneme of length, *-l-* 'transitive action', a proceme which usually occurs with the antepenultimate or penultimate syllable-medial vowel of the verb.⁸

<i>ŋàí</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>šàlòē.</i>	<i>(šàl búiŋà).</i>
<i>ŋà-í</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>šàl-ò-ē</i>	<i>(šàl búi-ŋ-à)</i>
1SG-AGT	3SG	drag-TNP-NPST	(drag PFV-1SG-TP)

'I am dragging (dragged) him.'

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>šà:lòē.</i>	<i>(šàl búi).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>šàl-ò-ē</i>	<i>(šàl búi-ì)</i>
3SG-AGT	3SG	drag-TNP-NPST	(drag PFV-IP)

'He is dragging (dragged) him.'

<i>nàí</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>èšà:lòē.</i>	<i>(èšàl búià).</i>
<i>nà-í</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>è-šàl-ò-ē</i>	<i>(è-šàl búi-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	3SG	NF-drag-TNP-NPST	(NF-drag PFV-TP)

'You are dragging (dragged) him.'

<i>nàí</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>èšàlāē.</i>	<i>(èšàl búiŋà).</i>
<i>nà-í</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>è-šàl-à-ē</i>	<i>(è-šàl búi-ŋ-à).</i>
2SG-AGT	1SG	NF-drag-TP-NPST	(NF-drag PFV-1SG-TP)

'You are dragging (dragged) me.'

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>èšàlē.</i>	<i>(èšàl búiŋà).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>è-šàl-ē</i>	<i>(è-šàl búi-ŋ-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	1SG	NF-drag-NPST	(NF-drag PFV-1SG-TP)

'He is dragging (dragged) me.'

Causative clauses contrast with transitive clauses in the addition of the first order verbal causative prefix *šə-*. The causative prefix *də-* which occurs almost exclusively with intransitive

⁸ This is to be distinguished from the purely phonological and predictable occurrence of a morphophonemic phoneme of length as described in R. H. Morse, op. cit., 22.

verbs, may be considered an allomorph. On the morphological level there occur further complicated patterns involving secondary voice transformations (benefactive, reciprocal, passive/perfective, and compounds). In certain cases (especially with intransitive and condition verbs), as well as to avoid [p.349] ambiguity, the causative is expressed by use of the auxiliary verb *dəzár* 'to cause, to make' (homophonous with the transitive verb form *dəzár* 'to send'), and the main verb then occurs in fourth order prefixual non-inflected position.⁹

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>šé</i>	<i>šəriðē.</i>	<i>(šəri</i>	<i>búà).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>šé</i>	<i>šə-rī-ð-ē</i>	<i>(šə-rī</i>	<i>bú-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	gold	CAUS-carry-TNP-NPST	(CAUS-carry	PFV-TP)

'He is sending (sent) gold.'

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>əmpà</i>	<i>šəámðē.</i>	<i>(šəám</i>	<i>búà).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>əmpà</i>	<i>šə-ám-ð-ē</i>	<i>(šə-ám</i>	<i>bú-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	food	CAUS-eat-TNP-NPST	(CAUS-eat	PFV-TP)

'He is feeding (fed) food.'

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>ədú</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>dəzárðē.</i>	<i>(dəzár</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>búà).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>ədú</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>dəzár-ð-ē</i>	<i>(dəzár</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>bú-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	Vdø	send	cause-TNP-NPST	(send	cause	PFV-TP)

'He's having Vdø sent. (had ... sent).'

<i>àŋí</i>	<i>dərə</i>	<i>šál</i>	<i>dəzárðē.</i>	<i>(šál</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>búà).</i>
<i>àŋ-í</i>	<i>dərə</i>	<i>šál</i>	<i>dəzár-ð-ē</i>	<i>(šál</i>	<i>dəzár</i>	<i>bú-à)</i>
3SG-AGT	things	pull	cause-TNP-NPST	(pull	cause	PFV-TP)

'He's having things pulled. (had ... pulled).'

Reflexive clauses, though manifesting subject, object and transitive verbs, are an inactive category, and contrast with transitive active clauses in the non-occurrence of either the actor subject tpp *-í* or the active transitive suffix *-ð*. Reflexive action is further distinguished by occurrence of a second order verb voice suffix *-šī*, and potential co-occurrence with the optional causative prefix *šə-* in causative-reflexive forms. Reflexive action in past tense thus co-occurs only with the intransitive suffix *-ì*. (The general tpp *nū* 'emphatic', generally used to

⁹ This last pattern, however, is not strictly causative, as a difference in connotation occurs, as: *dədí* 'cause to go' vs. *dí dəzár* 'to send, make go'.

differentiate tagmemes, is used here to distinguish the pronoun-noun sequence as subject and object).

àŋ nū šé rīšīē. (rīšī búi).
 àŋ nū šé rī-šī-ē (rī-šī búi-ì)
 3SG TOP gold carry-R/M-NPST (carry-R/M PFV-IP)
 'He is carrying (carried) gold for himself.'

àŋ nū šé šārīšīē. (šārīšī búi).
 àŋ nū šé šə-rī-šī-ē (šə-rī-šī búi-ì)
 3SG TOP gold CAUS-carry-R/M-NPST (CAUS-carry-R/M PFV-IP)
 'He is sending (sent) gold for himself.'

àŋ nū ámpà āmšīē. (āmšī búi).
 àŋ nū ámpà ām-šī-ē (ām-šī búi-ì)
 3SG TOP food eat-R/M-NPST (eat-R/M PFV-IP)
 'He is eating (ate) his own food.'

àŋ nū ámpà šəāmšīē. (šəāmšī búi).
 àŋ nū ámpà šə-ām-šī-ē (šə-ām-šī búi-ì)
 3SG TOP food CAUS-eat-R/M (CAUS-eat-R/M PFV-IP)
 'He is feeding (fed) food (to) his own.'

àŋ nū čùm wāšīē. (wāšī búi).
 àŋ nū čùm wā-šī-ē (wā-šī búi-ì)
 3SG TOP house make-R/M-NPST (make-R/M PFV-IP)
 'He is making (made) a house for himself.'

General, or customary type clauses also contrast with active transitive, though manifesting subject, object and transitive verbs, (as inactive), in the non-occurrence of either actor-subject tpp -í or the active transitive suffix -ò, and, futher, do not co-occur with temporal suffixes. They indicate action which is customary, or usual, but is referred to generally, non-specifically. There seems to be a definite pattern in Rvwàng speech as well as in their culture, involving focus of attention or specificity, in [p.350] which preference is given to circuitous speech and indirect generalities, avoiding the specific or direct approach. This results in a disproportionate

use of this general, non-specific clause type, and is a pattern which occurs in other sections of the grammar as well, especially in the use of colourless nominalized expressions.

àŋ nū šé rīē.
 àŋ nū šé rī-ē
 3SG TOP gold carry-NPST
 'He carries gold.'

àŋ nū ámpà āmē.
 àŋ nū ámpà ām-ē
 3SG TOP food eat-NPST
 'He eats food.'

àŋ nū čùm wāē.
 àŋ nū čùm wā-ē
 3SG TOP house make-NPST
 'He makes houses.'

àŋ nū dərè šàlē.
 àŋ nū dərè šàl-ē
 3SG TOP things drag-NPST
 'He drags things.'

There also occur certain patterns of morphological tone sandhi in the reflexive and general transform types, whereby the tones of some transitive process verb classes with high or low tones shift to a neutral mid tone. Reflexive action exhibits a further tonal proceme, which may be labelled *direct reflex*, differentiating action transferred to the subject's possessions (mid tone), from action directly transferring back onto the actor's person (high tone). Direct reflex clauses usually omit the object, which is either a repetition of the subject, separated by the tpp *nū*, or a specific expansion thereof.

àŋí šé ríòē.
 àŋ-í šé rí-ò-ē
 3SG-AGT gold carry-TNP-NPST
 'He's carrying gold.'

àŋ nū šé rīšīē.
 àŋ nū šé rī-šī-ē
 3SG TOP gold carry-R/M-NPST
 'He's carrying gold for himself.'

àŋ nū šé rīē.
 àŋ nū šé rī-ē
 3SG TOP gold carry-NPST
 'He carries gold.'

àŋ nū àŋ rīšīē.
 àŋ nū àŋ rī-šī-ē
 3SG TOP 3SG carry-R/M-NPST
 'He's carrying himself.'

àŋí šé dūòē.
 àŋ-í šé dū-ò-ē
 3SG-AGT gold dig-TNP-NPST
 'He's digging gold.'

àŋ nū šé dūšīē.
 àŋ nū šé dū-šī-ē
 3SG TOP gold dig-R/M-NPST
 'He's digging gold for himself.'

àŋ nū šé dūē.
 àŋ nū šé dū-ē
 3SG TOP gold dig-NPST
 'He digs gold.'

(àŋí šé dúāòē.)
 àŋ-í šé dú-ā-ò-ē
 3SG-AGT gold dig-BEN-TNP-NPST
 ('He's digging gold for ...')

àŋí ədú gōòē.
 àŋ-í ədú gō-ò-ē
 3SG-AGT Vdú call-TNP-NPST

'He's calling Vdú.'

àŋ nū ədú gōšīē.

àŋ nū ədú gō-ši-ē

3SG TOP Vdú call-R/M-NPST

'He's calling Vdú for himself.'

àŋ nū ədú gōē.

àŋ nū ədú gō-ē

3SG TOP Vdú call-NPST

'He calls Vdú.'

àŋ nū àŋ gōšīē.

àŋ nū àŋ gō-ši-ē

3SG TOP 3SG call-R/M-NPST

'He calls himself.'

àŋ rīšīē.

àŋ rī-ši-ē

3SG carry-R/M-NPST

'He's carrying himself.'

àŋ nū àŋ hí ámsīē.

àŋ nū àŋ hí ám-ši-ē

3SG TOP 3SG foot eat-R/M-NPST

'He eats his own foot.'

àŋ zīē.

àŋ zī-ē

3SG give-NPST

'He gives ...'

àŋma? nū àŋma? góŋ zīšīē.

àŋma? nū àŋma? góŋ zī-ši-ē

3PL TOP 3PL body give-R/M-NPST

'They give their own bodies.'

There also occurs what seems to be a unique STATIVE TRANSITIVE subtype with *ədá*, which as a transitive verb signifies 'to have, to own' but as an intransitive verb signifies 'to be rich'. It contrasts with intransitive [p.351] clauses, although the verb co-occurs only with intransitive fourth order suffixes, in that it co-occurs with an object tagmeme. It contrasts with transitive clauses in non-occurrence of an actor-subject, with general clauses in occurrence of temporal and inflective suffixes with the verb.

àŋ nū nəŋwà ədāē. (ədá búì).
àŋ nū nəŋwà ədā-ē (ədá bú-ì)
 3SG TOP cattle own-NPST (own PFV-IP)

'He owns (owned) cattle.'

àŋ nū ədāē.
àŋ nū ədā-ē
 3SG TOP be.rich-NPST

'He is rich.'

àŋ nū ədá lúŋì.
àŋ nū ədá lúŋ-ì
 3SG TOP be.rich DIR.up-IP

'He is becoming rich.'

An INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE nucleus consists of an unmarked subject tagmeme (S), simple or compound, and the intransitive predicate verb tagmeme (V). There are several types according to the class of verb occurring as predicate, which may be termed INTRANSITIVE PROCESS, STATIVE, and EQUATIONAL, with other subtypes differentiated by co-occurrence limitations on tagmemic and morphemic levels.

Intransitive process clauses exhibit an intransitive process verb in the predicate tagmeme, and may be transformed into transitive clauses by co-occurrence with causative clause verbal affixes.

mōdō ta? àŋ dīē. (dīá:mì).
mōdō ta? àŋ dī-ē (dī-á:m-ì)
 motor LOC 3SG walk-NPST (walk-DIR.dis-IP)

'He goes, is going (went) by motor.'

à:ŋí ədúú dədìdòē.

àŋ-í ədúú də-dì-ò-ē

3SG-AGT Vdø CAUS-walk-TNP-NPST

'He's making Vdø go.'

àŋ dədíšìē.

àŋ də-dí-šì-ē

3SG CAUS-walk-R/M-NPST

'He makes himself go.'

ságí àŋ ju:pmē. (ju:pmá:mì).

sá = gí àŋ ju:p-ē (ju:p-á:m-ì)

last = night 3SG sleep-NPST (sleep-DIR.dis-IP)

'Last night he sleeps, slept. (went to sleep).'

à:ŋí ɛ̀əmré šəju:pmòē.

àŋ-í ɛ̀əmré šə-ju:p-ò-ē

3SG-AGT baby CAUS-sleep:3-TNP-NPST

'He puts baby to sleep.'

àŋ nuū àŋ šəju:psìē.

àŋ nuū àŋ šə-ju:p-šì-ē

3SG TOP 3SG CAUS-sleep-R/M-NPST

'He puts himself to sleep.'

àŋ ɛ̀əmē. (ɛ̀əmá:mì).

àŋ ɛ̀əm-ē (ɛ̀əm-á:m-ì)

3SG small-NPST (small-DIR.dis-IP)

'He's small (became small).'

àŋ dəɛ́əmšìē.

àŋ də-ɛ́əm-šì-ē

3SG CAUS-small-R/M-NPST

'He makes himself small.'

àŋí šúŋrì dǝʒàmòē.
 àŋ-í šúŋ-rì dǝ-ʒà:m-ò-ē
 3SG-AGT wood-PL CAUS-small:3-TNP-NPST

'He makes the wood small.'

Note that intransitive process verbs in Rvwàng include categories normally considered processive. These are distributionally classed as different from condition and stative adjectival verb classes, thus resulting in variant clausal types.

A QUOTATIVE clause subtype occurs in which the predicate verb is *wā* 'to speak', exhibiting contrasts in not co-occurring with causative or benefactive transformatives, but co-occurring with other suffixual orders. Further contrast is seen in the co-occurring adverbial tagmeme within the clausal nucleus of independent clauses, which contains the direct quotation or its substitute. *wā* also occurs as an adverbial tpp, and as a quotative clausal conjunction usually followed by *nù* 'predicate sequence' [p.352] or *dū* 'comparative manner', and (along with the transitive *āl* 'to tell') is the only verb form observed to occur within a sentence, preceded by a clause + SFM suffix (i.e. an included full sentence).

àŋ nū jādū wāē (wà búì).
 àŋ nū jā = dū wā-ē (wà búì-ì)
 3SG TOP this = manner say-NPST say PFV-IP

'He says (said) thus.'

àŋ nū, mùí, wāē.
 àŋ nū mǝ-í wā-ē
 3SG TOP NEG-be say-NPST

'He says "No".'

àŋ gū dūŋē wāē.
 àŋ gū dī-ŋ-ē wā-ē
 3SG also walk-1SG-NPST say-NPST

'He also says, "I'm going".'

Stative clauses are of several types. Stative condition clauses exhibit a condition or qualitative verb in the predicate tagmeme. These may be transformed into benefactive intransitive clauses, when manifesting a benefactive-purpose tagmeme (BP) co-occurring with benefactive second

order verbal suffix *-ā* and fourth order transitive CFM suffixes. Causative transforms do not occur, nor an object tagmeme.

àŋ rəmári šəlāē.

àŋ rəmá-rì šəlā-ē

3SG field-PL good-NPST

'His fields are good.'

àŋ dəpət rəmári šəlāāðē.

àŋ dəpət rəmá-rì šəlā-ā-ð-ē

3SG for field-PL good-BEN-TNP-NPST

'The fields are good for him.'

àŋ əmō ənəpmē.

àŋ əmō ənəp-ē

3SG hat pretty-NPST

'His hat's pretty.'

àŋ dəpət ənəpmāðē.

àŋ dəpət ənəp-ā-ð-ē

3SG for pretty-BEN-TNP-NPST

'(It's) pretty for him.'

jājəŋ šé ālē.

jā = jəŋ šé āl-ē

this = LOC gold exist-NPST

'Here is gold.'

àŋ dəpət šé šlāðē.

àŋ dəpət šé šl-ā-ð-ē

3SG for gold exist-BEN-TNP-NPST

'There's gold for him.'

jādūm tì rənaʔē.

jā = dūm tì rənaʔ-ē

this = pond water deep-NPST

'This pond of water's deep.'

tì rənaʔāðē.
tì rənaʔ-ā-ð-ē
 water deep-BEN-TNP-NPST
 'The water's deep for ...'

Stative adjectival clauses exhibit adjectivally functioning stative verbs in the predicate with double-layered co-occurrence obligations, similar to the suffixual minor morphemes. (Verbs used adjectivally occur post-positionally to the modified noun form in nominal phrases, e.g.

tì nū lùmē
tì nū lùm-ē
 water TOP warm-NPST
 'the water is warm',

tìlùm (water + warm) 'warm water', *nunt šəlā* (heart good) 'a good heart', *nunt šəlā əsəŋ* (heart good person) 'a good-hearted person'. Stative verbs used thus adjectivally usually signal an extended meaning, and may simultaneously function as predicate verb co-occurring with still another subject noun expression, resulting in a clausal nucleus pattern similar to transitive clauses, but consisting instead of two subjects, as S - (S + V).) This clause type is to be differentiated from clauses with complex verb forms in the predicate, and the verbs manifest the various optional affixual orders.

gō rīē
gō rī-ē
 head revolve-NPST
 'dizzy (lit. 'head-revolve').

àŋ nū gō dāmərīnī.
àŋ nū gō dv-mə-rī-nī
 3SG TOP revolve EMPH-NEG-revolve-but
 'Surely he isn't dizzy.'

nərùm tēē.
nərùm tē-ē
 heart big-NPST
 'bold' (lit. 'heart-big').

àŋ nərùm dətéšīē.

àŋ nərùm də-té-ši-ē

3SG heart CAUS-big-R/M-NPST

'He emboldens himself.' [p.353]

àŋ nū nūnt zaʔē.

àŋ nū nūnt zaʔ-ē

3SG TOP heart hard-NPST

'He's hard-hearted.'

àŋ góŋ gīē.

àŋ góŋ gī-ē

3SG body waste-NPST

'He's worried (body-wasting).'

àŋ nū nūnt kūmē.

àŋ nū nūnt kūm-ē

3SG TOP heart soft-NPST

'He's soft-hearted.'

àŋ nərùm bòmē.

àŋ nərùm bòm-ē

3SG heart palpitate-NPST

'He's anxious (heart-palpitates).'

Equational clauses exhibit a pattern of two subject tagmemes (usually differentiated by occurrence of tpp *nū* following the first subject), or a subject and a coordinate complement, with an equational verb in the predicate tagmeme. This is a very popular form of speech, so that other clause types are often transformed to this type, simply by nominalization of the original predicate and adding an equational predicate tagmeme, usually *í* 'to be'.

àŋ nū ədú íē.

àŋ nū ədú í-ē

3SG TOP Vdø be-NPST

'He is Vdø (Second Son).'

àŋ nū əsəŋ šəlá íē.
 àŋ nū əsəŋ šəlá í-ē
 3SG TOP person good be-NPST

'He's a good person.'

àŋ nū nəŋwà ədá pè íē.
 àŋ nū nəŋwà ədá pè í-ē.
 3SG TOP cow own GMm be-NPST

'He's a cow-owner.'

àŋ nū šé rīšī wē íē.
 àŋ nū šé rī-šī wē í-ē.
 3SG TOP gold carry-R/M NMLZ be-NPST

'(It's-a-matter-of) him carrying gold.'

ədú nu àŋí dətù:mò wē íē.
 ədú nu àŋ-í də-tù:m-ò wē í-ē.
 Vdø TOP 3SG-AGT CAUS-delay:3-TNP NMLZ be-NPST

'Vdø is by him delayed.'

àŋ nū dərè šà:lò pè íē.
 àŋ nū dərè šà:l-ò pè í-ē.
 3SG TOP thing drag:3-TNP GMm be-NPST

'He's a dragger-of-things.'

An ADVERBIAL clause subtype occurs, the predicate of which exhibits an obligatory adverbial tagmeme immediately preceding the verb tagmeme within the predicate, the verbs of which are the stative verbs *í* 'to be' and *wā* 'to be like, condition'. The adverbial tagmeme co-occurring with *í* in this clausal subtype exhibits a verb with the passive voice affixes, -- first order voice prefix *ə-* plus second order passive suffix *-ša?*, -- which in conjunction with the following *í* manifest passive voice. The first verb with the passive voice affixes may co-occur with second order verbal suffixes including other voice suffixes (causative, reflexive, benefactive, reciprocal), and all variable tone verb classes exhibit high tone. The head or final verb *í* may co-occur with third or fourth order suffixes (such as person/number, direction, time). The passive adverbial tagmeme may also occur in other clause types with other predicate verbs, but

then occurs outside the nucleus in an optional slot, and then functions as perfect participle.
Actor-subject tagmemes may occur as optional instrumental tagmemes.

šé nū adúša? íē.
šé nū ə-dú-ša? í-ē.
 gold TOP INTR-dig-PART be-NPST
 'The gold is dug.'

lègā nū aríša? íē.
lègā nū ə-rí-ša? í-ē.
 book TOP INTR-carry-PART be-NPST
 'The books have been carried.'

čùm nū əwáša? íē.
čùm nū ə-wá-ša? í-ē.
 house TOP INTR-make-PART be-NPST
 'The house is made.'

ómpà nū əmša? íē.
ómpà nū ə-əm-ša? í-ē.
 food TOP INTR-eat-PART be-NPST
 'The food has been eaten.' [p.354]

lègā nū šaríkésa? íá:mì.
lègā nū šə-ə-rí-ké-ša? í-á:m-ì.
 book TOP CAUS-INTR-carry-RECIP-PART be-DIR.dis-IP
 'The books had been sent to each other.'

čəmré nū šàjūpša? íapmì wē íē.
čəmré nū šə-ə-jūp-ša? í-a:p-ì wē í-ē.
 child TOP CAUS-INTR-sleep-PART be-TMdys-IP NMLZ be-NPST
 '(It's-a-matter-of) the child had been put to sleep.'

čəmré nū màšàšmāša? í dárì.
čəmré nū mə-šə-ə-əm-ā-ša? í dár:r-ì.
 child TOP NEG-CAUS-INTR-eat-BEN-PART be TMhrs-IP
 'The child had not been fed for (her).'

šé nū mǎzǐša?, àŋ dǐámì.
šé nū mǎ-ǎ-zǐ-ša? àŋ dǐ-ǎ:m-ì.
 gold TOP NEG-INTR-give-PART 3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP

'He went, the gold ungiven.'

ŋà nū ǎdíša? úŋǎē.
ŋà nū ǎ-dǐ-ša? í-ŋǎ-ē.
 3SG TOP INTR-walk-PART be-1SG-NPST

'I have gone.' (lit. 'I am a goner.')

The adverbial tagmeme co-occurring with *wā* is characterized by stative quality verbs either adverbially reduplicated, or followed by the adverbial tpp *dàŋ* 'customarily, characteristically'. These stative quality verbs may occur as predicate verbs, but most usually occur adverbially with *wā* only as the predicate verb. This construction also occurs with *wā* functioning as the adverbial tpp, in an adverbial tagmeme peripheral to another predicate verb.

sǎmī nū šúrē.
sǎmī nū šúr-ē.
 fire TOP bright-NPST

'Fire is bright.'

kùrniprì nū kwīŋē.
kùrnip-rì nū kwīŋ-ē.
 star-PL TOP twinkle-NPST

'Stars are twinkling.'

tǎrà nū čatnē.
tǎrà nū čat-ē.
 path TOP slippery-NPST

'The path is slippery.'

tǎrà nū čat čat wāē.
tǎrà nū čat čat wā-ē.
 path TOP slippery REDUP be.like-NPST

'The path's slippery.'

čat dəŋ wāē.

čat dəŋ wā-ē.

slippery just be.like-NPST

'Continues to be slippery.'

səmi nū šúr šúr wāē.

səmi nū šúr šúr wā-ē.

fire TOP bright REDUP be.like-NPST

'The fire's bright.'

šúr dəŋ wāē.

šúr dəŋ wā-ē

bright just be.like-NPST

'Continues brightly.'

səmi nū šúr dəŋ wā sārē.

səmi nū šúr dəŋ wā sār-ē.

fire TOP bright just be.like shine-NPST

'The fire continues brightly to shine.'

Certain intransitive process verbs may also occur in these constructions, with modification of co-occurring affixual forms as illustrated below:

səmi əlapšīē.

səmi ə-lap-ši-ē.

fire INTR-blink-R/M-NPST

'The fire blinks.'

səmi lap lap wāē.

səmi lap lap wā-ē

fire blink blink do-NPST

'The fire is blinking.'

səmi əlap dəŋ wášīē.

səmi ə-lap dəŋ wá-ši-ē.

fire INTR-blink just do-R/M-NPST

'The fire continues to blink (itself).'

àŋ əgō ŋúmšīē.
 àŋ əgō ŋúm-ši-ē
 3SG head bow-R/M-NPST

'His head is bowed.'

əgō ŋúm ŋúm wāē.
 əgō ŋúm ŋúm wā-ē.
 head bow bow do-NPST

'(He) bows his head.'

àŋ əgō ŋúm dāŋ wášiē.
 àŋ əgō ŋúm dāŋ wá-ši-ē.
 3SG head bow just do-R/M-NPST

'He keeps his head bowed.'

The obligatory nuclei of Rvwàng clause types and transforms have now been outlined, omitting and yet indicating the structure of potential open-ended expansion in the optional periphery. Verb classes and their co-occurring forms, as well as distribution, serve to differentiate clause types.

1.3. *Verb phrase structure*

The description of the Rvwàng sentence in this paper, while given in [p.355] terms of its minimally contracted obligatory structure, also accounts for its potential maximum or open-ended expansion. Component units are clauses and co-occurring sentence-marking items (the suffixes and intonation), which occur in a two-dimensional matrix of independent versus dependent, obligatory versus optional types. Clause structure has been similarly described, as consisting of well-defined component units which are also set in a matrix of independence versus obligation. Though most speech rarely exhibits complete and independent sentences and clauses, these form the frame of reference chosen for description here, from which are derived the dependent, incomplete, and optional variants. Description of clause structure in terms of its component unit, the *tagmeme*, and differentiation of the obligatory nucleus and the optional periphery, makes possible the formulaic description of p. 343, which is capable of defining at once both the minimal contraction and the maximum expansion of the clause. Except for the

predicate tagmeme which always occurs finally, the linear ordering of other tagmemes is conditioned by processes of focus and emphasis.

The phrase is usually thought of as the component unit on the level next below the clause. Since in this paper the tagmeme is posited as the significant component unit relevant to the clause, there arises a question as to differentiation of tagmeme and phrase. Now the tagmeme, consisting of the slot, the slot-filling word or word-groups which manifest the tagmeme, and the tagmemic postposition which signals the interrelation and structure of the tagmeme to the rest of the clause, is a technical, structural unit which may not coincide with a phrase. A string of words commonly thought of as a phrase may coincide with a tagmeme, or include several tagmemes, or be only part of an expanded tagmeme. Thus, though the *phrase* is considered non-distinctive in the structure of the Rvwàng sentence, it is still useful in considering the co-occurrence limitations and interrelation of verb forms and other word groups within as well as beyond the limits of the tagmeme.

The verb phrase occurs mainly in all types of predicate tagmemes, which are described fully on the morphological level. Elsewhere its occurrence exhibits a dichotomy of endocentric and exocentric verb phrases, in verbal sequences, adverbial tagmemes, and adjectivally, or nominalized in other tagmemes.

1.3.1. *Endocentric verb phrases*

Endocentric verb phrases in which the head word is a verb (VH) are of several types: adverbially modified [p.356] verb phrases, and phrases in which one or two auxiliary verbs co-occur. Thorough description entailing analysis of these co-occurring form classes (adverbs and auxiliary verbs) is outside the scope of this paper. Here we list and illustrate some of the more common, and other outstanding patterns.

Adverbially modified verb phrases

Adverbially modified verb phrases are of two extensive types: those in which the verb is modified prepositionally (a) by adverbial forms, and (b) by verb expressions used adverbially. Since the headword of the phrase, the verb together with its affixes, always occurs last, and is described on a morphological level, description here is concerned mostly with the co-occurring adverbial formations.

(a) Adverbial forms exhibit a distributional dichotomy of (1) those which fill an optional fourth order prefix slot before the verb stem,¹⁰ and (2) those which usually manifest a separate optional tagmeme of variable order outside of the predicate phrase, with or without co-occurring tpp. These are further differentiated by limitations of expansion potential, the former being included in a closed prefixual system within the verbal tagmeme, and the latter having an open-ended potential expansion to clause and sentence level, as:

àŋ lè dīē
àŋ lè dī-ē
3SG instead walk-NPST
'He goes instead'.

àŋ té wā dīē
àŋ té wā dī-ē
3SG big ADV walk-NPST
'He goes the more'.

Adverbs occurring within the verbal prefix system have a very limited inventory, and are mostly monosyllabic except for several disyllabic forms. When co-occurring with a verb infinitive form plus auxiliary verb, the modifying adverb may occur either before or after the

¹⁰ These are included within the verbal prefix system preceding the various other prefix orders despite their being free forms due to distribution in the pattern of maximum expansion of the verb plus prefixes and auxiliary verb, in which the verb occurs as an infinitive preceding all the prefixes and the auxiliary verb.

dik rí nū šīnī lēmènàdàbāŋkē nìnū
dik rí nū šīnī lə-mə-è-ə-dəbāŋ-kē nìnū
box carry TOP yet NCERT-NEG-NF-RECIP-help-RECIP but
'But you have not yet helped each other to carry the box!' *dik* 'box', *šīnī* 'yet' *dəbāŋ* 'to help' *rí* 'to carry'.
The tpp *nū* usually occurs in this expanded pattern, used to emphasize the VH in infinitive form, which otherwise would occur in the auxiliary verb's place, e.g.
dik nū šīnī lēmèrìò nìnū
dik nū šīnī lə-mə-è-rí-ò nìnū
box TOP yet NCERT-NEG-NF-carry-TNP but
'But you have not yet carried the box'.

infinitive VH. If occurring before the verb, the object tagmeme may displace it due to the focus proceme mentioned earlier. It occurs after the infinitive VH if the auxiliary verb is modified.

gəzà dīē
gəzà dī-ē
 very.much walk-NPST
 '(he) goes much'.

gəzà dí məjúē
gəzà dí məjú-ē
 very.much walk want.to-NPST
 '(he) wishes to go (very) much'.

dí (nū) gəzà məjúē
dí nu gəzà məjú-ē
 walk TOP very.much want.to-NPST
 '(he) greatly wishes to go'.

dí lā mənšàì nìnū
dí lā mən-šà-ì nì = nū
 walk HYP continue-R/M:1plpast-IP but = TOP
 'If (we) should go ...' (*lā* 'hypothetical').

rí šinī màdəzár
rí šinī mə-dəzár
 carry yet/still NEG-cause
 'not yet made to carry', (*šinī* 'yet, still'); [p.357]

dūŋjá šinī rí màdəzár
dūŋjá šinī rí mə-dəzár
 load yet/still carry NEG-cause
 'not yet made to carry the load';

šinī dūŋjá rí màdəzár
šinī dūŋjá rí mə-dəzár
 yet/still load carry NEG-cause
 'the load ... not yet made to carry'.

gō dǎŋ məšəlā

gō dǎŋ mə-šəlā

call just NEG-good

'Would it not be good to call'. (*gō* 'call'; *šəlā* 'good'.)

Another limited series of adverbs occurs which is differentiated from those mentioned above only in their optional occurrence elsewhere in the periphery, but without a tpp. These are usually disyllabic, and exhibit reduplication.

naʔšī, 'quietly';

naʔšī laqəl

naʔšī laq-əl

quietly INDTV-exist

'Let (him) be quiet'.

kādəŋšī 'so much';

kādəŋšī rí jòr má

so.much carry endure Q

'(he) can carry so much?'

àŋwà, 'naturally';

àŋwà ámpà ēmē

àŋwà ámpà ēm-ē

naturally food eat-NPST

'Naturally (he) eats food'.

ɕānɕān, 'quickly',

ɕānɕān dīē

ɕānɕān dī-ē

quickly walk-NPST

'(he) goes quickly'.

laʔlaʔ, 'very'; *wāwā* 'only'; *dəšàšà*, 'all the more'; *tāsəŋ tàlē*, 'mutually, to each other';

mədùŋ madaʔ, 'mandatorily'; *məti mənī*, 'in minute detail'.

Adverbial forms which manifest tagmemes on a clausal level exhibit a dichotomy of those which are potentially expandable to clause level and those not thus expandable. Those which are so expandable generally manifest the optional tagmemes (with tpp), of time, location, cause, source, quantify, quotation and manner, as exemplified in Appendix 3. Non-expandable adverbial tagmemes, mostly of condition and quality, include those which do not exhibit tpp and those which do. Reduplication is characteristic of adverbial forms, usually signifying *superlative* and *distributive* procemes.

Adverbial forms which modify a verb head without co-occurring tpp and usually without intervening tagmemes of the clause-obligatory nucleus are of several distinct types. There is a class of adverb forms which are limited in distribution to co-occurrence with only one (or at most two) verbs. This class might be said to have a class meaning, of intensification of the verb modified; individual glosses are difficult. It is possible that these were all originally verb forms, whose distinctive meanings have been lost. If so, this class is the same as a similar verb class described below.

<i>zù:mò</i>	'to hold',	<i>kəp zù:mò</i>	'to hold fast';
<i>əʒaʔ</i>	'to stick',	<i>dār əʒaʔ</i>	'to stick fast'.
<i>əbūn</i>	'to hold in arms',	<i>təm əbūn</i>	'to hold up';
<i>kūŋʃi</i>	'to arise',	<i>sūt kūŋʃi</i>	'rise up'.
<i>rət</i>	'break',	<i>peʔ rət</i>	'to break off';
<i>čut</i>	'to remove',	<i>zūr čut</i>	'to cast off, take off'.
<i>pōʃi</i>	'revolve',	<i>lám pōʃi</i>	'turn clear about';
<i>əlē</i>	'pass by',	<i>hùm əlē</i>	'to pass clear by'.

A few also occur in verb roots:

<i>bət ətəŋ</i>	'to return right back'	<i>ətəŋ</i>	'return'	<i>dəbatnò</i>	'to redirect, close off'
<i>dən zùŋ</i>	'to fill full'	<i>zùŋ</i>	'to fill'	<i>dən iē</i>	'to be full'
<i>kúŋ ətup</i>	'thoroughly'	<i>kúŋ iē</i>	'to be just right (in measure)'		

Many of these Av + V combinations or phrases may in turn occur as a unit filling an adverbial tagmeme slot preceding another verb VH, with or without the tpp *wā*. Several patterns occur involving reduplication, with slight change in signification, as:

kúin ətuɸ, kúŋkúŋ ətuɸ, kúŋtuɸ, kúŋtuɸ wā, kúŋ ətuɸtuɸ, 'complete and thorough';

hùm əlē, 'clear past', *hùmhùm əlē* 'clear on past', *hùmlē, hùmlē wā*, 'right past', *hùm əlēlē*, 'each clear past', *hùm əlēlē diámì*, 'each went clear on past'.

Adverbial modification as above, in which the last syllable is verbal, and the same morpheme also occurs as VH, are not extensive, but much used:

<i>pətbē bēē</i>	'completely finished up.'
<i>gùrhūm əhūmē</i>	'encircled all around.'
<i>bəttut tutnò</i>	'to sever clear off.'
<i>kaʔdət dətnē</i>	'to break clear through.'

The occurrence of many of these adverbial prefixal morphemes which have only been assigned a general class gloss, in a phrase pattern where they carry the signification, indicates that they are separate morphemes rather than allomorphs of one morpheme. This pattern consists of the form reduplicated preceding the verb *əl, ə:lò, əlšì* 'to do', as: *kəpkəp èzù:mò* 'hold it fast', but *kəpkəp èə:lò* 'make it fast'. *hwāmhwām əlšìē* 'it's waving back and forth'.

Non-expandable adverbial tagmemes in verb phrases, which exhibit the tpp *wā*, usually occur reduplicated, but a few also occur singly, as Av \pm reduplication + tpp + VH.

rò wā šù:nòē
rò wā šù:n-ò-ē
 unitedly ADV speak:3-TNP-NPST
 'spoke unitedly';

rūt wā šà:lò
rūt wā šà:l-ò
 all.together ADV pull:3-TNP
 'to pull all together';

wāmwām wā
 hazily:REDUP ADV
 'hazily';

zūr zūr *wā*
pointedly:REDUP ADV
'pointedly';

šaʔ šaʔ *wā* *dīē*
šaʔ = šaʔ *wā* *dī-ē*
happily = REDUP ADV walk-NPST
'went happily';

sír *wā*
piercingly ADV
'piercingly'.

(b) Verb expressions used adverbially in non-expandable adverbial tagmemes exhibit several patterns and are not exhaustively described here. Stative and condition verb forms especially function commonly as adverbs, and occur in some of the patterns described in the preceding section. Though mostly co-occurring with the adverbial tpp *dū* 'manner', *wā* 'condition', and *dəŋ* 'characteristically, continuously', there are also tagmemic patterns in which a tpp is optional, and usually does not occur. Negative, which is an optional second-order adverbial prefix of predicate verbs, is also an optional feature of the verb in these adverbial tagmemes, exhibiting several patterns. Reduplication is a characteristic adverbializing process.

Sequences of different verbs within a tagmeme, common in other [p.359] Tibeto-Burman languages, do not represent a pattern of Rvwàng structure except when auxiliary verbs occur affixually;¹¹ (the few compounds and couplets occurring, being a different category). However, there does occur a pattern, mentioned above, in which the same verb stem is repeated, and the first form fills an optional adverbial slot (as *pətbē bēē* 'completely finished up'). A similar but more extensive pattern also occurs, which I mention in passing because it also occurs in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Lisu, Burmese, Kachin, etc.;¹² phonological processes of

¹¹ The one commonly occurring sequence, *ám aʔ nù* 'eating and drinking', is borrowed from Kachin and Lisu, and would otherwise be *ám nù aʔ nù*.

¹² Cp. the Lisu occurrence of voiced-initial intransitives and voiceless-initial causatives: *dǒ* 'to drink', *tô* 'to give drink'; *gwà* 'to wear', *kwá* 'to dress'; *bǔ* 'to float', *pû* 'to make float'; *z,ǐ* 'to remain', *ǝǐ* 'to keep back'; *ǵǐ* 'to melt', *čǐ* 'to make melt, dissolve'.

voicing and voicelessness syllable initially are correlated with differences of verbal voice. In Rvwàng, with only two series of stops, we find the voiced forms occurring as verbs, and the voiceless forms usually occurring as prefixual adverbs, few of which still retain their verbal function, as: *típ dip* 'to seal'; *təŋ dáj* 'to complete'; *pu? bu?* 'to shatter'; *pūŋ būŋ* 'to commence'; *čap ĵap* 'to split'; *čup ĵup* 'to dry and crack', etc. Most informants are unable to gloss the voiceless adverbial forms, or use them separately as verbs. But the fact that individual signification of this adverbial class is recognized is seen in their occurrence in the frame (used above): *pəŋ èā:lò* 'do *pəŋ* to it'; i.e. 'try to snap it off'. *tùŋ ā:lòe* '(He) did *tùŋ* to it'; i.e. '(he) shook it down'.

And following a pattern seen above, this adverb-verb sequence may occur as an adverbial tagmeme preceding the same verb repeated, usually with causative affixes *də-...-ò* on the verb form, and, with optional *tpp wā* following the adverbial forms.

<i>pəŋ bəŋ,</i>	<i>pəŋ bəŋ dəbā:ŋòē,</i>	'to snap off completely.'
<i>tùŋ mədūŋ,</i>	<i>tùŋ mədūŋ dədū:ŋòē,</i>	'to establish steadfastly.'
<i>kəŋ gāŋ,</i>	<i>kəŋ gāŋ dəgā:ŋòē,</i>	'to dissolve and evaporate.'
<i>čəl ĵəl,</i>	<i>čəl ĵəl dəĵā:lòē,</i>	'to break off jaggedly.' (as wood splinter).
<i>pəl bəl,</i>	<i>pəl bəl dəbā:lòē,</i>	'to exterminate completely.'
<i>kùŋ gūŋ,</i>	<i>kùŋ gūŋ dəgū:mòē,</i>	'to make up (a measure) perfectly.'

Verb couplets, comparatively uncommon in Rvwàng, co-occur with the *tpp dū*, or are reduplicated when occurring without a *tpp*. Negative prefix occurs optionally with both forms:

šànšér *dū*
šàn-šér *dū*
 pure-clean ADV
 'pure and clean'; [p.360]

məšàn *məšér* *dū*
mə-šàn *mə-šér* *dū*
 NEG-pure NEG-clean ADV
 'impure and unclean-ly'.

šànšàn *šéršér* *lá:ŋòē*
šàn-šàn *šér-šér* *lá:ŋ-ò-ē*
 pure-REDUP clean-REDUP carry:3-TNP-NPST

'carrying pure + cleanly'.

ηəη dūη dū
firm solid ADV
'firm and solid';

ηəηηəη dūηdūη ka:tɲòē
ηəη-ηəη dūη-dūη ka:t-ò-ē
firm-REDUP solid-REDUP plant:3-TNP-NPST
'planted firm and solidly'.

màtuup manúŋʂì dū dīē
mə-ətuup mə-ənúŋ-ʂì dū dī-ē
NEG-stumble NEG-bruise-R/M ADV walk-NPST
'to go without hurting self. (ətuup 'stumble', ənúŋ 'bruise'.)

Other condition verbs may occur adverbially exhibiting some type of reduplication without any tpp, and co-occurring with an equational verb (í 'to be'), or another verb. Optional negative, if occurring, is exhibited only as a prefix to the main verb, whereupon the adverbial reduplication may be omitted.

məʂùŋ ləbāŋ íē	'to be greenish'	məʂùŋ (ləbāŋ) mùí	'not greenish'
əruŋ ləʂəŋ íē	'to be alert, normal'	əruŋ mùí	'not normal'
ʂəŋəŋ lətət məruŋ ʂìē	'angrily threatening'	ʂəŋəŋ	'to threaten'

Reduplication is not necessarily phonological, but may consist also of synonymous couplets or compounds. However, adverbial reduplication of condition verbs without co-occurrence of tpp usually involves occurrence of an atomic syllable prefix before the second form. This common Tibeto-Burman pattern seems in Rvwàng to be more extensive and varied, with lə-, mə-, də-, bə-, tə-, probably not exhausting the possibilities.

		na? ləna? íē	'to be blackish'
gwìŋē	'shines'	gwìŋ ləgwìŋ íē	'to be shiny'
		mùŋ ləməŋ íē	'to be whitish'
gàŋē	'wide'	gàŋ ləgàŋ íē	'to be widish'
		zù ləzù íē	'to be sweetish'
ʂèē	'to be brown'	ʂè ləʂè íē	'to be brownish'

		<i>nún mənūn íē</i>	'to be wrinkled'
		<i>nunt mənunt íē</i>	'to be crumpled'
<i>háhē</i>	'stiff'	<i>háh mähāh íē</i>	'to be stiffish'
<i>əšūŋ</i>	'useless'	<i>əšūŋ məšūŋ íē</i>	'quite useless'
		<i>guut məguut íē</i>	'to be curly'
<i>məšūŋ</i>	'green'	<i>šūŋ məšūŋ íē</i>	'to be greenish'
		<i>rūm tərūm íē</i>	'to be low-ish'
<i>jāhē</i>	'long'	<i>jāh bājāh íē</i>	'to be longish'
		<i>kār dākār íē</i>	'to be flattish'
<i>dəbūē</i>	'to be fat'	<i>bū dəbū íē</i>	'to be fattish'

This adverbializing prefix morpheme may occur without the reduplication, but rarely:

lāgà *èāl*

lə-əgà è-āl

ADV-be.full NF-stay

'Stay full!' (lə- + ə- = *la-*; *əgàē*, 'be full (from eating)').

Superlative condition is expressed by the adverbial tagmeme *ətāŋ ša?* 'extremely', (*ətāŋē* 'to end, terminate', + ə...*ša?* (passive voice, participial tpp), preceding the verb modified. This may be transformed, omitting ə...*ša?*, so that the verb *ətāŋ* occurs as an auxiliary verb (if no verbal prefixes occur), or adjectivally after the verb modified, in an adverbial tagmeme preceding the verb *í* 'to be'.

<i>ətāŋ ša? əháhē</i>	'extremely high.'
<i>əháh ətāŋē, əháh ətāŋ íē</i>	'to be highest.'
<i>ətān ša? šālāē</i>	'extremely good.'
<i>šálá ətāŋē, šálá ətāŋ íē</i>	'to be best.'

Process verbs do not co-occur with the verb *ətāŋ* in the last two patterns. *ša?* may be followed by the tpp *dū*.

ətāŋ ša? zíōē

ətāŋ ša? zí-ò-ē

most PART give-TNP-NPST

'(he) gave extremely much'.

This is paralleled by the occurrence of process verbs in the participializing adverbial tagmeme, in infinitive form, with *ə...šaʔ* and optional negative prefix *mə-* (*mə-* + *ə-* = *mà-*).

<i>màruut</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>dīē</i>
<i>mə-ə-ruut</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>dī-ē</i>
NEG-INTR-ask	PART	walk-NPST

'(He) goes unasked.'

<i>àŋ</i>	<i>sàŋ</i>	<i>əzí</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>íē</i>
<i>àŋ</i>	<i>sàŋ</i>	<i>ə-zí</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>í-ē</i>
3SG	DAT	INTR-give	PART	be-NPST

'To him has been given.'

<i>lègā</i>	<i>šàrī</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>íē</i>
<i>lègā</i>	<i>šə-ə-rī</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>í-ē</i>
book	CAUS-INTR-carry	PART	be-NPST

'The books are sent.'

<i>màšàrī</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>íē</i>
<i>mà-šə-ə-rī</i>	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>í-ē</i>
NEG-CAUS-INTR-carry	PART	be-NPST

'have not been sent.'

Negative is primarily an optional adverbial second order prefix of the verb, *mə-*, but it also occurs in adverbial tagmemes without tpp, as *mà-*, 'without, un-', prefixed to verbs in infinitive form, with several patterns. Process verbs (transitive or intransitive) occur adverbially with the negative prefix *mà-* in infinitive form preceding a VH, with a negative passive syntactic construction. (What would be actor-subject occurs as instrumental tagmeme, and what would be object in an active sentence occurs as subject.) Thus there is optional co-occurrence of *ə...šaʔ* also; which, however, is determined by co-occurrence of *šīnī* 'still, yet', and implying of *intent*, as:

<i>čùm</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>màwá</i>	<i>íē</i>
<i>čùm</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>mà-wá</i>	<i>í-ē</i>
house	TOP	NEG-make	be-NPST

'The house is unmade.'

dərè nū màzí íē
dərè nū mà-zí í-ē
 thing TOP NEG-give be-NPST

'The things are ungiven.'

čùm nū šinī màwá íē
čùm nū šinī mà-wá í-ē
 house TOP still NEG-make be-NPST

'House is still unmade.'

čùm šinī màwá ša? íē
čùm šinī mà-wá ša? í-ē
 house still NEG-make PART be-NPST

'The house is not yet made (but will be).'

dərè nū šinī màzí ša? íē
dərè nū šinī mà-zí ša? í-ē
 thing TOP still NEG-give PART be-NPST

'The things are as yet ungiven.'

màšá íē
mà-šá í-ē
 NEG-know be-NPST

'to be unknown.'

màšəŋnunt íē
mà-šəŋnunt í-ē
 NEG-teach be-NPST

'to be untaught.'

màmə̀sūŋ íē
mà-mə̀sūŋ í-ē
 NEG-remember be-NPST

'unremembered.'

There also occurs a small list of stative verbs which, by co-occurrence with *wā* 'to do' or *əl* 'to do', become a process expression (a pattern described on p. 358). This then may occur as a

negative adverbial tagmeme, in which the stative verb occurs initially, followed by the negative *mà-* and the infinitive form *wá*; or followed by the negative *mə-* and the transitive stem *ā:lò* together with the tpp *dū* preceding a VH.

šoʔ *màwá* *ālē*
 šoʔ *mà-wá* *āl-ē*
 ONOMAT NEG-do exist-NPST

'(He's) keeping quiet'.

šoʔ *gū* *məā:lò*
 šoʔ *gū* *mə-ā:l-ò*
 ONOMAT also NEG-exist:3-NPST

'not making a sound, even'. [p.362]

ɲət *màwá* *ripme*
 ɲət *mà-wá* *rip-e*
 move NEG-do stand-NPST

'standing still (unmoving)'.

ɲət *gū* *məā:lò* *dū*
 ɲət *gū* *mə-ā:l-ò* *dū*
 move also NEG-exist:3-TNP ADV

'unmovingly, even'.

lōŋ *mà-wá*
 shake NEG-do

'unshaking'.

Negative prefix *mà-* also occurs with process verbs the final syllable of which is reduplicated, signifying a proceme of *continuous process*, in adverbial tagmemes without tpp.

mànārnār
mà-nār-nār
 NEG-cease-REDUP

'unceasingly'

màsərēē
 mà-sərē-rē
 NEG-fear-REDUP
 'fearlessly'

màdətɪʔtiʔʃì
 mà-dətɪʔ-tiʔ-ʃì
 NEG-hesitate-REDUP-R/M
 'undoubtedly'

màámám ālē
 mà-ám-ám āl-ē
 NEG-eat-REDUP stay-NPST
 'stays without eating'

màšášá dīē
 mà-šá-šá dī-ē
 NEG-know-REDUP walk-NPST
 '(He) goes unknowingly'.

Verbs may occur adverbially without reduplication with co-occurring tpp. With tpp *dū*, they function as verb stems with potential expansion to clauses; with *dəŋ* and *wā*, and in infinitive form, they function adverbially. Due to the unique transformability of *wā*, however, there are several patterns of expansion. *wā* may either function as a tpp preceding a VH with optional affixes, -- in which case it is preceded by *dəŋ* as the adverbial tagmeme tpp. Expansion into transitive clause is exhibited by co-occurrence of suffix -ò with *wā*, followed by either a nominalizing tpp or a clausal conjunctive.

əməŋ búì
 əməŋ bú-ì
 lost PFV-IP
 'it's lost'

əməŋ búi dū əšəmə
 əməŋ búi-ì dū əšəmə-ē
 lost PFV-IP ADV seem-NPST

'seems like it's lost'

əməŋ dəŋ wāē
 əməŋ dəŋ wā-ē
 lost just be.like-NPST

'continues to be lost'

əməŋ dəŋ laʔwā
 əməŋ dəŋ laʔ-wā
 lost just INDTV-be.like

'let it be lost'

əməŋ dəŋ wā íá:mì
 əməŋ dəŋ wā í-á:m-ì
 lost just be.like be-DIR.dis:3-IP

'it has continued to be lost'.

dī dū əšəmə
 dī dū əšəmə-ē
 walk ADV seem-NPST

'seems like (he's) going'.

dí dəŋ wāē
 dí dəŋ wā-ē
 walk just be.like-NPST

'(he) continues going'.

naʔ dəŋ wā jəŋšīē
 naʔ dəŋ wā jəŋ-šì-ē
 black just be.like look-R/M-NPST

'(it) looks black'.

rìò dū əšəmə
 rí-ò dū əšəmə-ē
 carry-TNP ADV seem-NPST

'seems like (he's) carrying ...'

rí dāŋ wā rūŋē
rí dāŋ wā rūŋ-ē
carry just be.like sit-NPST

'(he) sits (while) continuing to carry ...'

rí dāŋ wàò dá:ŋí
rí dāŋ wà-ò dán-í
carry just be.like-TNP after/finish-ADV

'after continuing to carry ...' (*dá:ŋí* 'after', tpp)

àŋ sāŋ rí dāŋ wàò wēí
àŋ sāŋ rí dāŋ wà-ò wē-í
3SG DAT carry just be.like-TNP NMLZ-INST

'by continuing to carry him' (*wēí*, 'by', instrumental tpp, nominalizing).

Only a few stative qualitative verbs in infinitive form co-occur with *wā*; optional reduplication then functions as a proceme of *intensification*. The adjectival suffix *-çè* 'diminutive' may occur after the tpp *wā* with these verbs, and may rarely substitute for it.

šəlá wā èām
šəlá wā è-ām
good ADV NF-eat

'Eat well!'

té wā ru:tɲòē
té wā ru:t-ò-ē
big ADV ask:3-TNP-NPST

'(he) asks more'

tété wā ru:tɲòē
té-té wā ru:t-ò-ē
big-REDUP ADV ask-TNP-NPST

'(he) asks the most'.

šāŋ wā
clean ADV

'cleanly'

šāŋšāŋ *wā*
šāŋ-šāŋ *wā*
clean-REDUP ADV

'very cleanly'

šūr *wā*
bright ADV

'brightly'

šūršūr *wā*
šūr-šūr *wā*
bright-REDUP ADV

'very brightly'.

šup *wā* *èwàò*
šup *wā* *è-wà-ò*
thorough ADV NF-do-TNP

'Do it thoroughly'.

šup *wāçè* *èwàò*
šup *wā-çè* *è-wà-ò*
thorough ADV-DIM NF-do-TNP

'Do it a bit thoroughly'.

šālā *çè* *èwàò*
šālā *çè* *è-wà-ò*
good DIM NF-do-TNP

'Do it a bit well (good)'.

There is evidently a proceme of tone functioning also, which has not yet been identified. It is certain that it is not merely phonological.

A less common pattern in which verbs occur adverbially, without a tpp, by which may be expressed certain qualities such as reality, severity, superlative, etc., exhibits the use of an

adverbial morpheme with that signification filling the tpp slot, preceded by the infinitive form of the [p.363] VH to be modified, as $V(\text{inf})_1 + \text{av} + V_1\text{H}$.

šá júnj šášē (*šá* 'to know', *júnj* 'truly') in

<i>šá</i>	<i>lú:ŋì</i>	<i>lòŋ</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>šá</i>	<i>júnj</i>	<i>šášē</i>
šá	lúnj-ì	lòŋ	nū	šá	júnj	šá-šì-ē
know	DIR.up-IP	CLF	TOP	know	truly	know-R/M-NPST

'(Such) knowledge (coming-to-know-ness) is truly knowing'.

<i>jup</i>	<i>júnj</i>	<i>jupmámì</i>
jup	júnj	jup-ám-ì
sleep	truly	sleep-DIR.dis-IP

'(He) truly slept'.

<i>rí</i>	<i>mədùŋ</i>	<i>rìdē</i>
rí	mədùŋ	rì-ò-ē
carry	in.reality	carry-TNP-NPST

'really carried' (*rí* 'carry', *mədùŋ* 'in reality').

<i>zá</i>	<i>dəkē</i>	<i>zà</i>	<i>lú:ŋì</i>	<i>nù</i>
zá	dəkē	zà	lúnj-ì	nù
sick	increasingly	sick	DIR.dis-IP	PS

'became increasingly sick...' (*zā* 'sick', *dəkē* 'increasingly').

Auxiliary verbs also occur adverbially preceding VH in verb phrases and thus round out the occurrence of verbs in verb phrases. The pattern of occurrence is unique, exhibiting the co-occurrence of pronouns as subjects of the auxiliary verb reduplicated within the adverbial tagmeme. No tpp occurs. The pronoun forms occurring are singular, and may be 2nd + 1st or 3rd + 2nd person pronouns as:

<i>àŋma?</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>jòr</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>jòr</i>	<i>ətūlē</i>
àŋma?	nū	àŋ	jòr	nà	jòr	ə-tūl-ē
3PL	TOP	3SG	win	2SG	win	RECIP-struggle-NPST

'They struggle (to see whether) he wins or you win'.

nàma? nū nà da? ηà da? dèza? šìnùηē
nàma? nū nà da? ηà da? è-dəza? -ši-nùη-ē
 3PL TOP 2SG able 1SG able NF-try.hard R/M-2PL-NPST

'You work each to the limit of your capabilities'. (lit. "you-able I-able'-ingly').

nà lún ηà lún
 2SG able 1SG able

'according as each is able'.

A few more scattered patterns of adverbially occurring verb types occur, but the more common, extensive and productive patterns have now been described.

Putao, Kachin State, Burma

APPENDIX 1

Sentence types

<i>Major and transform types</i>	<i>Sentence-final marker suffix</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Affirmative		
(non-past)	-ē	<p>àŋí lègā rŭòē. àŋ-í lègā rŭ-ò-ē 3SG book read-TNP-NPST 'He reads books.'</p>
(transitive, past)	-à	<p>àŋí lègā rŭ búà. àŋ-í lègā rŭ bú-à. 3SG-AGT book read PFV-TP 'He read books.'</p>
(intransitive, past)	-ì	<p>ǵánī àŋ dìá:mì. ǵánī àŋ dì-ám-ì yesterday 3SG walk-DIR.dis-IP 'Yesterday he went.'</p>
Narrative	-ē wā	<p>àŋí lègā rŭòē wā. àŋ-í lègā rŭ-ò-ē wā 3SG-AGT book read-TNP-NPST HS 'He reads books (narrative).'</p>

Emphatic assertion	-ē lé!	àŋí lègā rūòē lé! àŋ-í lègā rū-ò-ē lé 3SG book read-TNP-NPST EXCL 'He does read books.'
[p.364] Incredulous assertion		àŋí lègā rūòē màwá! àŋ-í lègā rū-ò-ē mà-wá 3SG-AGT book read-TNP-NPST NEG-say 'Don't say he reads books!'
Informational interrogative	-ē má?	àŋí lègā rūòē má? àŋ-í lègā rū-ò-ē má 3SG-AGT book read-TNP-NPST Q 'Does he read books?' àŋí lègā mərūò má? àŋ-í lègā mə-rū-ò má 3SG-AGT book NEG-read-TNP Q 'Doesn't he read books?'
Confirmatory interrogative	-ē wóná?	àŋí lègā rūòē wónā? àŋ-í lègā rū-ò-ē wónā? 3SG-AGT book read-TNP-NPST Q 'You mean he reads books?'

Incredulous interrogative	-ē lá?	àŋí lègā rūòē lá? àŋ-í lègā rū-ò-ē lá 3SG-AGT book read-TNP-NPST Q 'What! he reads books?'
Imperative	- x	lègā èrūò. lègā è-rū-ò book NF-read-TNP 'Read books.' nàmaʔí lègā èrūnùŋ. nàmaʔ-í lègā è-rū-nùŋ. 3PL-AGT book NF-read-2PL 'You (pl) read books.'
Requestive	- - nà.	lègā èrūò nà. lègā è-rū-ò nà book NF-read-TNP REQ 'Please read books.'
Hortatory	- - lè.	lègā èrūò lè. lègā è-rū-ò lè book NF-read-TNP HORT '(You should) read books.'
Assumptive optative	də- (P) -nī	àŋí lègā dərūònī. àŋ-í lègā də-è-rū-ò-nī 3SG-AGT book EMPH-NF-read-TNP-but '(Surely) he will read books.'

Concessive	<i>lə- (P) -nī/nì nū</i>	<p> <i>àŋí lègā lərūò-nì.</i> àŋ-í lègā lə-rū-ò-nī 3SG-AGT book NCERT-read-TNP-but 'But he reads books (doesn't he? uncertain).'</p> <p> <i>àŋí lègā lərūò-nì nū.</i> àŋ-í lègā lə-rū-ò-nì nū 3SG-AGT book EMPH-read-TNP-but TOP 'But he <i>does</i> read books.'</p>
Prohibitive	<i>mè- (P) -nī</i>	<p> <i>lègā mərəū-nī.</i> lègā mə-è-rū-nī book NEG-NF-read-INTENT 'Don't read books.'</p> <p> <i>lègā mərəū-nùŋ-nī.</i> lègā mə-è-rū-nùŋ-nī book NEG-NF-read-2PL-INTENT 'Don't you (pl) read books.'</p>
Precative	<i>la?- (P) - x</i>	<p> <i>(àŋí) lègā laʔrū-ò.</i> àŋ-í lègā laʔ-rū-ò 3SG-AGT book INDTV-read-TNP 'Let (him) read books.'</p>

Intentive	- <i>nī</i>	<p><i>lègā rūìnī.</i> <i>lègā rū-ì-nī</i> book read-1PL-INTENT 'Let's read books.'</p> <p><i>lègā rūḡòñūḡ.</i> <i>lègā rū-ḡ-ò-nī-ḡ</i> book read-1SG-TNP-but-1SG 'Let (me) read books.'</p>
Optative interrogative	- <i>nī má?</i>	<p><i>lègā rūìnī má?</i> <i>lègā rū-ì-nī má</i> book read-1PL-INTENT Q 'Shall we read books?'</p> <p><i>lègā èrūòñí má?</i> <i>lègā è-rū-ò-nī má</i> book NF-read-TNP-INTENT Q 'Would (you) read books?'</p>
Exclamatory adversative	- <i>wē!</i>	<p><i>àḡí lègā rūò wē.</i> <i>àḡ-í lègā rū-ò wē</i> 3SG-AGT book read-TNP NMLZ 'But he reads books (contrary to expectation).'</p>
[p.365] Declamatory	- <i>wē lè!</i>	<p><i>àḡí lègā rūò wē lè!</i> <i>àḡ-í lègā rū-ò wē lè</i> 3SG-AGT book read-TNP NMLZ REM 'But of course he reads books!'</p>

APPENDIX 2

The operation of the 'proceme' of FOCUS in Rvwàng

Emphasized tagmemes 'in focus' are enclosed in square brackets. Tagmemic slots are identified underneath. The first sentence is the usual idiomatic sequence without particular focus.

1.	<i>dèni</i>	<i>à:ŋí</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>rəmə</i>	<i>háŋũ</i>	<i>šà:mí</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>šúŋ</i>	<i>rú:mòe.</i>
	dèni	àŋ-í	ŋà	dəpət	rəmə	háŋ = ũ	šəm-í	nəŋ	dəŋwā	šúŋ	rú:m-ò-e
	today	3SG-AGT	1SG	for	field	CLF = LOC	knife-INST	hurriedly	manner	tree	cut-TNP-NPST
	T	aS	B			L	IA		Av	O	V

(unmarked) 'Today he cut trees for me hurriedly with a knife in the field.'

2.	<i>dèni</i>	<i>à:ŋí</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>šúŋ</i>	<i>nũ</i>	<i>šà:mí</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>[rəmə]</i>	<i>[háŋũ]</i>	<i>rú:mòe.</i>
	today	3SG:AGT	1SG	for	tree	TOP	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	field	CLF:LOC	cut:TNP:NPST
	T	aS	B		O	-	IA		Av		L	V

Location: 'Today, the trees he cut for me hurriedly, *in the field* with a knife.'

3.	<i>dèni</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>šúŋ</i>	<i>nũ,</i>	<i>šà:mí</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>rəmə</i>	<i>háŋũ</i>	<i>[à:ŋí]</i>	<i>rú:mòe.</i>
	today	1SG	for	tree	TOP	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	field	CLF:LOC	3SG:AGT	cut:TNP:NPST
	T		B	O	-	Av		Av		L	aS	V

agent-Subject: 'The trees for me, *he* cut hurriedly with a knife today in the field.'

4.	<i>dèni</i>	<i>rəmə</i>	<i>háŋũ</i>	<i>à:ŋí</i>	<i>šà:mí</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>dəŋwā</i>	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>[šúŋ]</i>	<i>rú:mòe.</i>
	today	field	CLF:LOC	3SG:AGT	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	1SG	for	tree	cut:TNP:NPST
	T		L	aS	IA		Av		B	O	V

Object: 'Today in the field he cut *trees* hurriedly for me with a knife.'

5.	dèñi	àŋí	nān	dàŋwā	rəmə	háŋū	ŋà	dəpət	šúŋ	nū	[šà:mí]	rú:mòe.
	today	3SG:AGT	hurriedly	manner	field	CLF:LOC	1SG	for	tree	TOP	knife:INST	cut:TNP:NPST
	T	aS	Av			L	B		O	-	IA	V

Instrument-Association: 'He cut trees for me hurriedly today in the field *with a knife*.'

6.	dèñi	ŋà	dəpət	àŋí	rəmə	háŋū	šúŋ	nū	šà:mí	[nān	dàŋwā]	rú:mòe.
	today	1SG	for	3SG:AGT	field	CLF:LOC	tree	TOP	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	cut:TNP:NPST
	T	B		aS		L	O	-	IA		Av	V

Adverbial: 'Hurriedly he cut trees for me today in the field with a knife.'

7.	ŋà	dəpət	rəmə	háŋū	šà:mí	nān	dàŋwā	šúŋ	nū	àŋí	[dèñi]	rú:mòe.
	1SG	for	field	CLF:LOC	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	tree	TOP	3SG:AGT	today	cut:TNP:NPST
	B			L	IA		Av	O	-	aS	T	V

Time: 'Today he cut trees hurriedly for me in the field with a knife.'

8.	dèñi	šà:mí	ŋà	dəpət	rəmə	háŋū	nān	dàŋwā	šúŋ	rú:mò	wē	nū	[àŋ]	íe.
	today	knife:INST	1SG	for	field	CLF:LOC	hurriedly	manner	tree	cut:TNP	NMLZ	TOP	3SG	be:NPST
	T	IA	B			L	Av		O	V + nom.			S	V

Subject: 'The cutter-of-wood-hurriedly in the field with a knife, for me, today, was *he*.' [p.366]

9.	àŋí	nān	dàŋwā	ŋà	dəpət	dèñi	rəmə	háŋū	šà:mí	rú:mò	wē	nū	[šúŋ]	íe.
	3SG:AGT	hurriedly	manner	1SG	for	today	field	CLF:LOC	knife:INST	cut:TNP	NMLZ	TOP	tree	be:NPST
	aS		Av		B	T		L	IA		V + nom.		S	V

Object > Subject: 'A *tree* is what he cut hurriedly with a knife for me today in the field.'

10.	à:ŋí	ŋà	dəpət	šà:mí	nə̃n	də̃ŋwā	dèñī	šúŋ	rú:mò	wē	nū	[rəmə	háŋū]	íe.
	3SG:AGT	1SG	for	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	today	tree	cut:TNP	NMLZ	TOP	field	CLF:LOC	be:NPST
	aS	B		IA	Av		T	O	V + nom.			L		V

Location > Subject: 'In the field is where he hurriedly cut trees for me today with a knife.'

11.	à:ŋí	dèñī	rəmə	háŋū	šà:mí	nə̃n	də̃ŋwā	šúŋ	rú:mò	wē	nū	[ŋà	dəpət]	íe.
	3SG:AGT	today	field	CLF:LOC	knife:INST	hurriedly	manner	tree	cut:TNP	NMLZ	TOP	1SG	for	be:NPST
	aS	T	L		IA	Av		O	V + nom.			B		V

Beneficiary > Subject: 'It was for me that he hurriedly cut trees in the field today with a knife.'

APPENDIX 3

Dependent clauses may occur as included clauses within the tagmemic structure of the main clause, in which case they are nominalized, and with or without a further tpp. Other dependent clauses occur either as optional adverbial and verbal clauses followed by clausal conjunctives (mutually exclusive with SFM signalling mode), or as obligatory components of complex sentences followed by clausal conjunctives with modal signification. Antecedent tagmemes such as subject or object, shared with the main clause, usually occur contiguous to the dependent clause (usually before, but also after). Dependent clauses, on the other hand, always occur as one unit, and precede the main clause predicate.

The simple sentences used as frames in the examples below illustrate the meaning carried by the clause-final minor morphemes, whether conjunctives or tpp or nominalizers, and their substitutability in this frame only. But elsewhere they are differentiated by further co-occurrence limitations and varying distributions, not described here.

With verbal or clausal conjunctives

	<i>Optional</i>
Co-ordinate sequence	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr nù, nāršīē. àŋ dí mǎ-jòr nù nār-ši-ē 3SG walk NEG-endure PS rest-R/M-NPST 'He's tired of walking, and (so)(he) rests.'</p>
Quotative indirect	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr, wā nù nāršīē. 3SG walk NEG:endure say PS rest:R/M:NPST 'Saying he's tired of walking, (he) rests.'</p>

Similative	<p>àŋ dí məjòr wā dū, nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure say ADV rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'Just as (he) said he's tired of walking, so (he's) resting.'</p>
Concomitant, temporal	<p>àŋ dí məjòr kē, nāršī lúŋì.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure when rest:R/M DIR.up:IP</p> <p>'When he tired of walking, (he) started to rest.'</p>
Simulfactive	<p>àŋ dī taʔsóri əhūšīē.</p> <p>3SG walk LOC:while INTR:laugh:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He laughs while he walks.'</p>

	<i>Obligatory</i> (exemplified by conditional mode sentences)
Particular condition	<p>àŋ dí məjòr nìñū, laʔnāršī.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure but:TOP INDTV:rest:R/M</p> <p>'If he's tired of walking, let (him) rest.'</p>
Contrastive condition	<p>àŋ dí məjòr nìgū, laʔdī.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure but:also INDTV:walk</p> <p>'Though he's tired of walking, let (him) go.'</p>
Hypothetical condition	<p>àŋ lā dí məjòr nìñū, laʔnāršī.</p> <p>3SG HYP walk NEG:endure but:TOP INDTV:rest:R/M</p> <p>'If he should tire of walking, let (him) rest.'</p>
Hypo. contr. condition	<p>àŋ lā (± dāŋ) dí məjòr nìgū, laʔdī.</p> <p>3SG HYP just walk NEG:endure but:also INDTV:walk</p> <p>'Even if he should tire of walking, let (him) go.'</p>

Contrary to fact condition	<p>àŋ lā dī pà í nìñū, mənāršīnī wē íē.</p> <p>3SG HYP walk NMLZ be but:TOP NEG:rest:R/M:but NMLZ be:NPST</p> <p>'If he were to go, (he) (expectedly) wouldn't be resting.'</p>
Future vague condition	<p>àŋ lā dīām pà í nìñū, mənāršīlāmni wē íē.</p> <p>3SG HYP walk:BEN NMLZ be but:TOP NEG:rest:R/M:BEN:but NMLZ be:NPST</p> <p>'If he should go, (he) (expectedly) wouldn't be resting.'</p>

With tagmemic postpositions

	<i>Adverbial</i>
Extent	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr dǎŋtē nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure as.long.as rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests as long as (he's) tired of walking.'</p>
Cumulative	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr hu? əhūšīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure until INTR:laugh:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He laughs until (he's) unable to walk.'</p>
Manner	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr dū nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure manner rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests as though tired of walking.'</p>
Cause	<p>àŋ dí mǎjòr rət (± nù) nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure because PS rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests because (he's) tired of walking.'</p>
Condition permissive	<p>àŋ dí mǎjór dǎŋ nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure just rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests just tiredly.'</p>

[p.368]	<i>Nominalizing</i>
Adversative	<p>àŋ dí məjòr wē, dīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure NMLZ walk:NPST</p> <p>'He walks, though tired of walking.'</p>
Momentaneous	<p>àŋ dí məjòr wēó, nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure NMLZ:COM rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests as soon as (he's) tired of walking.'</p>
Source	<p>àŋ dí məjòr jóŋ kèní nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure LOC from rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests due to being tired of walking.'</p>
Locative	<p>àŋ dí məjòr jóŋ (±-ū) nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure LOC LOC rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests where (he's) tired of walking.'</p>
Ablative	<p>àŋ dí məjòr kèní nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure from rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests from/upon being tired of walking.'</p>
Comparative	<p>àŋ dí məjòr (wē) mədàmū dīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure NMLZ above:LOC walk:NPST</p> <p>'He goes in-spite-of/on-top-of being tired of walking.'</p>
Temporal, general	<p>àŋ dí məjòr dægəp nāršīē.</p> <p>3SG walk NEG:endure time rest:R/M:NPST</p> <p>'He rests when tired of walking.'</p>

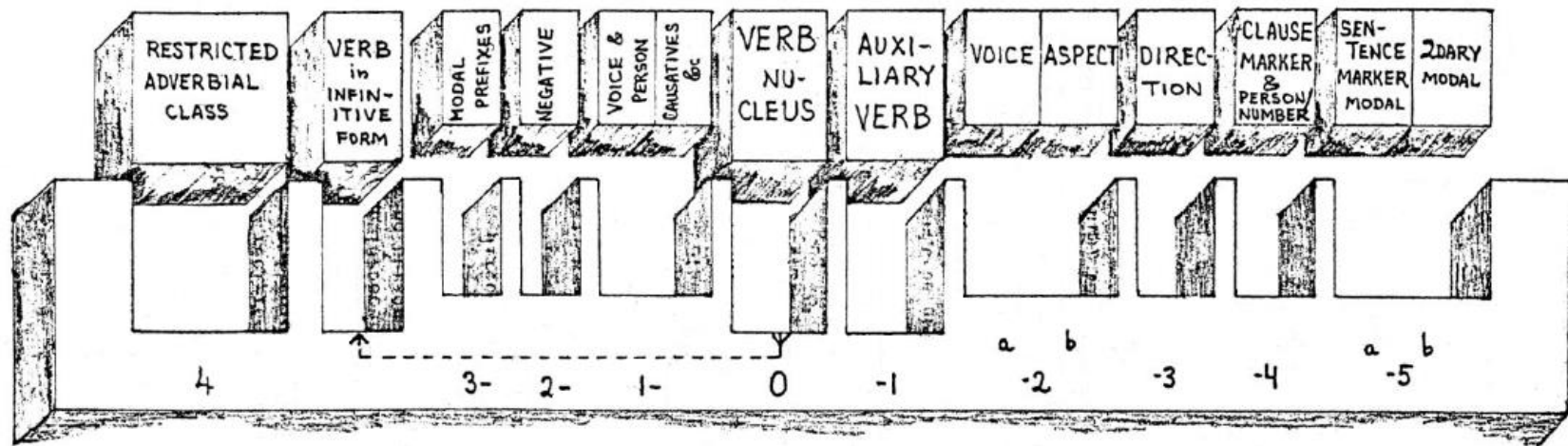
Punctilear	àŋ dí məjôr kət nāršîē. 3SG walk NEG:endure moment rest:R/M:NPST 'He rests whenever tired of walking.'
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Nominalizing suffixes and postpositions co-occur on both word and phrase levels, with complex functions involving procemes such as *specificity*. Nominal tpp are of two types, including these and others which function as nominalizers, as well as non-verbal tpp which co-occur with noun phrases or after a nominalized verbal expression, and mostly signal 'case' relationships. They are of both close and open juncture types:

	<i>Nominal</i>	
Actor-subject	-í	à:ŋí tərì šà:lòē. 3SG:AGT rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'He is dragging rattan.'
Instrument	-í	àŋ wū:rí tərì šà:lòē. 3SG hand:INST rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'By his hand (he's) dragging rattan.'
Association	-í	dū:rù:mí tərì šà:lòē. night:ADV rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'By night (he's) dragging rattan.'
	nəŋ	à:ŋí ədíú nəŋ tərì šà:lòē. 3SG:AGT Vdø with rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'He's dragging rattan with Vdø.'
[p.369] Near vocative	-á	ədíúá, əpōŋá. Vdø:NVOC Vpong:NVOC 'O Second-Son, O First-Son.'

Locative (at)	-ū	<i>zūmwàŋū tərì šà:lòē.</i> jungle:LOC rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST '(He's) dragging rattan in the jungle.'
Objective-possessive	-ò	<i>tərì nū àŋò šà:lòē.</i> rattan TOP 3SG:POSS drag:3:TNP:NPST 'The rattan that's his (he's) dragging.'
Temporal	<i>ta?</i>	<i>wēnī ta? tərì šà:lòē.</i> that:day on rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'On that day (he) drags rattan.'
Benefactive-purpose	<i>rət nù</i>	<i>àŋ rət nù tərì šà:lòē.</i> 3SG because PS rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST 'Because of him (he's) dragging rattan.'
	<i>dəpət</i>	<i>àŋ dəpət tərì šà:lòē.</i> 3SG for rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST '(He's) dragging rattan for him.'
		<i>čùm wà lám dəpət šà:lòē.</i> house make INF for drag:3:TNP:NPST '(He's) dragging (rattan) to make a house.'
Locative (to)	<i>səŋ</i>	<i>čùm səŋ tərì šà:lòē.</i> house DAT rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST '(He's) dragging rattan to the house.'
Locative (from)	<i>kèní</i>	<i>zūmwàŋ kèní tarí šà:lòē.</i> jungle from rattan drag:3:TNP:NPST '(He's) dragging rattan from the jungle.'

LINEAR ORDER OF CATEGORIES POTENTIAL TO THE VERBAL TAGMEME OF RĀWANG¹³



This listing is without regard to co-occurrence limitations and does not distinguish between optional and obligatory categories.

Labels refer to the general class meaning of categories occurring in the order shown, and each class or slot contains a plurality of members.

Deeper slots represent free form words; shallow slots represent minor morpheme classes and bound-form classes.

The verb nucleus or head-word (0) when occurring with an auxiliary verb (-1), co-occurs with prefixual categories (3-, 2- 1-), only when transposed to the prefixual infinitive verb slot (so that the auxiliary verb then functions as the verb tagmeme nucleus).

¹³ This and the next section were not in the published article, but were included in the conference version of the paper.

Inflection of person and number, principally exhibited as a fourth order suffix (-4) intersecting with clause type markers (transitive/intransitive category), occurs simultaneously with suffixal categories -1, -2, -3, -5 as well as the nucleus, for 1st person singular; it occurs simultaneously with prefixal categories 3-, 2-, 1- and the nucleus, for second person.

Examples:

1.	<i>rí</i>	<i>lē-</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nà-</i>	<i>dàbāη</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>ám-</i>	<i>(bú)-</i>	<i>nùη-</i>	<i>nīmū.</i>
	0	3-	2-	1-	-1	-2a	-2b	3	4	5
	carry	-	neg.	2 nd p.	help	recipocal	voice	edible categ.	direction	2 p. plural
				+ voice						(with le-)
										sentence mode,
										"concessive"

'(But) you didn't go help each other carry (it: edible category).' (The directional *bú* (direction away from) could occur as shown but would tend to be omitted to simplify the sentence.) (Note 2nd person inflection with *lə-*, *mə-* *də-* (3-, 2, 1-, + -1).)

2.	<i>àηí</i>	<i>la?</i>	<i>rí-</i>	<i>ā-</i>	<i>at-</i>	<i>nò-</i>	<i>nī-</i>	<i>má</i>
			0	2	3	4	5a	5b
	he	-by	adv.-let	carry	voicet:	direction	trans.cl.	modal
				benefactive	toward	marker	unreal;	modal interrog.
							hypothetical	

'Should (we) let him carry (it) here for (you)?'

3.	<i>ηái</i>	<i>rúη-</i>	<i>āη-</i>	<i>at-</i>	<i>nò-</i>	<i>nūη-</i>	<i>má</i>
	0	2	3	4	5a	5b	
	I	-by	carry	benefactive	toward	trans.	hypothetical
						clause	interrogative

'Shall I carry (it) here for you?' (Note 1st person sing. inflection -η with 0, 2, 5a.)

4. čəŋ	rí	dā-	mà	dədəŋ	šì-	lúŋò	nī
	0	3-	2-	1- -1	-2	-3 -4	-5
immediately	carry	-	neg.	cause	reflexive v.	direction up	modal
				to finish		transitive	"probably"

'Probably (most likely) (he) won't be able to finish carrying (it) up for himself immediately.'

5. rí	dəzər-	á-	jəŋ-	šà.
0	-1	-2	-3	-4
carry	send	benefactive	distant past	1 st -plural + transitive past

'(We) long ago helped send (him) to carry....'

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PLENARY SESSION III

XXXI

Contribution to Discussion from Dr. Robert Morse

From reading various presentations on syntax, I feel that I have perhaps not stressed enough, myself, the importance of recognizing at each level of analysis the relevant frames of reference. General statements are made about sentences and clauses as though these didn't need further definition and specification as to types and classes, whereas in fact sentences are *not* merely 'major' or 'minor'. I doubt if accurate, predictive analyses will result until important distinctions between independent and dependent, complete and incomplete sentences are recognized; -- or until differentiation is made between those components of sentences and clauses which are optional (and therefore secondary, attributive, peripheral or concomitant) and those which are obligatory (and hence primary, head-word, derivational or nuclear). In almost any Asiatic language that I've encountered, from Japanese to Khasi, from Burmese to Zêwang, mere verbal phrases may occur as complete 'major' sentences. But it would be unwise to base a description of sentence structure on the verb phrase alone. Subject and object may seem to be optional peripheral items, but perhaps only in the context of dependent sentence types in which these items are already understood. The obligation of their co-occurrence might be entirely different, in non-responding, discourse-initial independent and complete sentence types, -- or at least it seems so for the Tibeto-Burman languages.

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Abbreviations

1PL	1 st person plural
1SG	1 st person singular
2PL	2 nd person plural
2SG	2 nd person singular
3	3rd person (vowel length marks 3rd person actor)
3PL	3rd person plural
3SG	3 rd person singular
ADV	adverbializer
AGT	agent marker
Aj	adjective
aS	actor-subject
Av	adverbial tagmeme
B	benefactive tagmeme
BEN	benefactive marker
BP	benefactive-purpose tagmeme
CAUS	causative-marking prefix
CFM	clause-final marker
CLConj	clausal conjunctive
CLF	classifier
CONC:	concomitant slot
DAT	dative marker

D-CL	dependent clause
DECL	declamatory marker
DIM	diminutive marker
DIR.cis	direction marker, cislocative (toward the center)
DIR.dis	direction marker, dislocative (away from the center)
DIR.up	direction marker, upward
EMPH	emphatic marker
EXCL	exclamatory marker
GMf	gender marker for female humans
GMm	gender marker for male humans
HORT	hortative marker
HS	hearsay marker (= quotative, 'say')
HYP	hypothetical/irrealis marker
I	instrumental tagmeme
IA	instrument-association tagmeme
I-CL	independent clause

INDTV	indirect directive (verbal prefix, = 'let')
INF	infinitive marker
inf	infinitive
INST	instrumental marker
INT	intonation
INTENT	intention/wish marker
INTR	intransitivizing verbal prefix
IP	intransitive past marker
L	location tagmeme
LOC	locative marker
n. class.	noun classifier
NCERT	uncertainty marker
NEG	negative marker
NF	non-first person marker (verbal prefix for where 1 st or 2 nd person is involved but is not the agent)
NMLZ	nominalizer/relativizer
nom.	nominalizer
NPST	non-past marker
NUC:	nucleus slot
NVOC	near vocative marker
O	object
ONOMAT	onomatopoeic adverbial
P	predicate <i>or</i> purpose tagmeme
PART	participle-forming suffix
PERI:	periphery slot
PFV	perfective marker
PL	plural marker
PS	predicate sequence linker
Q	question marker
R/M	reflexive/middle marker (verbal suffix)

RECIP	reciprocal marker (verbal prefix or suffix)
REDUP	reduplication
REM	reminder marker
REQ	requestive marker
S	subject
SFM	sentence-final marker
T	time tagmeme
T-B	Tibeto-Burman
TMdys	time marker, days ago/days distant
TMhrs	time marker, hours ago/hours distant
TNP	transitive non-past marker
TOP	topic marker
TP	transitive past marker
tpp	tagmemic postposition
V	verb
VH	verb head (a verb which is the head of a verb phrase)
Vt	transitive verb
WH	information question marker (interrogative pronoun)
X	zero marking